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LETTERS

Rx for the country

Stamford, Conn.

DEAR SIRS: I read the excerpts of editorials on the back cover of the April 15 *Nation* to my wife, the ones which show you predicted President Johnson's decision not to run in '68.

"Who knows," she said, "maybe he reads *The Nation* and took the hint."

Would that all the leaders of this country could read *The Nation* and take many of your hints and suggestions! It would be a far better country in many respects.

Joel M. Berns

AID and politics

Rio de Janeiro

DEAR SIRS: Howard J. Wiarda's essay in your Feb. 19 issue ["The Dominican Fuse"] was in general an excellent analysis of the Dominican political scene vis-à-vis the Alliance for Progress. However, his statement, "The goal of promoting social change . . . has been abandoned," glosses over important social and democratic achievements that have been registered in recent years. I speak of the Office of Community Development's program which employs hundreds of young and intensely nationalistic Dominicans, some of whom participated in the 1965 revolution on the side of the Constitutionalists. I served an an instructor and consultant for the Office of Community Development from April, 1964, through October, 1966.

In passing, Mr. Wiarda refers to the office: "Thus while the United States is practically sovereign in some areas (such as the Dominican Office of Community Development), it can do little more than make suggestions in others." Professor Wiarda could have put the finger on almost any other Dominican agency and his assumption would be unquestioned. It is evident that he did not explore the objectives of or the three-dimensional realities achieved by the Dominican development program. Indeed, the office would be an ideal paradigm for strengthening the other half of his argument. As the director of the office, Mr. Fiore Marra has consistently followed and exercised an autonomous and independent, if sometimes peremptory, leadership of the office's activities, agreeing to Yankee assistance on his terms.

American Peace Corps volunteers would do well to follow the skilled example of the typical office field worker, who lives and works in the rural communities motivating grass-root community action. . . . I mention here only a few of the socio-economic accomplishments realized in the last three years. As of Jan. 1, 1967: farm to market roads, over 200 km; irrigation canals, 30 km; classrooms constructed, 200; potable water systems, 20; latrines, 1,000 units.

Nearly 70,000 farmers have volunteered their labor on 2,000 self-help, community improvement activities. The office field workers have fostered the organization of hundreds of local groups of leaders. In addition, several farmers' associations have been encouraged to improve and increase their crop yields by the provision of easy credit loans.

The *Alianza* has sponsored a winner for a change. Implicit in Wiarda's spurious assumption is a condemnation of the Agency for International Development's economic and technical assistance. By inference and omission he has done a disservice to both AID's and the Office of Community Development's serious attempts to cooperate meaningfully

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EDITORIALS

The New Danger

By taking himself out of the 1968 race, and by starting (or appearing to start) negotiations with Hanoi, President Johnson has, as one reporter put it, de-escalated and disjointed the normal political combat which would otherwise have been the order of the day. But the United States, from the earliest days of the cold war and before we bogged ourselves down in Southeast Asia, has insisted on deeds, not words, in negotiations.

Johnson's one deed, aside from removing himself from what had become a well-nigh hopeless political contest, was to concentrate the bombing in a smaller area, and so to intensify it strategically. Hanoi could scarcely be expected to respond with the outstretched hand which Secretary Clifford seems to think would have been a proper *quid pro quo*. Hanoi replied only that it would negotiate for a complete cessation of the bombing, and named two locations acceptable to it. It then turned out that the President's offer to negotiate any place, any time, was subject to the rule of reason cited by Clifford—who is apparently functioning as the President's counselor-at-law as well as his Secretary of Defense. But "reasonable," which can have a very broad and obstructive meaning, was a qualification which the President had not inserted in any of his reiterated pleas for negotiation.

Yet this tergiversation, obvious as it is when one looks at the record, is not obvious to the front-page-headline reader, and it therefore puts the peace candidates in an awkward position. The Vietnamese issues remain as dangerous as ever, and as much an obstacle to domestic tranquillity, but criticism of the President becomes difficult.

Nixon, of course, is delighted. Wrapping himself in his drip-dry, spot-proof mantle of self-righteousness, he has proclaimed a moratorium on criticism. It is his sacred bipartisan duty to remain silent while Mr. Johnson wrangles with Hanoi. Governor Rockefeller, while by political instinct less mealy-mouthed than Nixon, has not enlightened us as to his views. It is the Democrats who have the problem.

Robert Kennedy has fired a cautious shot or two from safe cover. Hubert Humphrey is working out a strategy under which he will be the loyal, experienced junior partner in the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, yet no longer one who supported the Vietnamese War as ardently as appeared to be the case only a few weeks ago. Only Senator McCarthy, with his usual courage and candor, has rejected the moratorium on criticism out of hand. He intends to keep on discussing the issue until it becomes clear that the Administration has changed its policy and is ready for real negotiation, one in which both sides must be prepared to yield something in order to achieve peace.

Not only that, but he has gone far afield, viewing Vietnam as only part of a larger complex. He asked: why not negotiate in Warsaw, *and* ultimately consider recognizing Communist Cuba and Communist China? The North Atlantic Treaty Organization might as well be scrapped. We paid ransom to retrieve Castro's prisoners after the

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Bay of Pigs; such transactions are distasteful, but is there any other way to get back the crew of the *Pueblo*?

By such common-sense statesmanship and appeal to reason, McCarthy has at least partially pierced the armor in which the President encased himself by his speech of withdrawal. In McCarthy's own words, the continued heavy bombing in the chosen area, the sending of more troops to Vietnam, and the call-up of additional reservists (some of whom have gone on TV to protest), "taken together can only discourage us as to what our first purpose was and also encourage us to continue the effort on through the campaign."

So speaks McCarthy, clearly and candidly on this issue as on others. In terms of votes, it is probably a standoff. The political decency it bespeaks, and the respect for the electorate, are admirable, but in politics good works are not always rewarded.

The New Answer

The best defense is an offense, the generals tell us, and it is as often true in politics as in war. In the foreseeable future of the Vietnamese confusion, the critics of the President will be at a disadvantage to the extent that their criticism is merely negative—and the more so because in the negotiations, whenever they do finally convene, Hanoi is going to be as tough as Washington, and to the average American our negotiators will seem reasonable by contrast. But much can be done to counter this lopsided view, inherent in the nature of nationalism, by constructive pressure on the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

This can take several forms. Former New York City Councilman Paul O'Dwyer, who is seeking the Democratic nomination for U.S. Senator, has been calling on the President to propose a cease-fire in Vietnam to provide a favorable atmosphere for peace negotiations. Mr. O'Dwyer, joined by Senator McCarthy, also called for the resignation of Secretary Rusk. That would show the Administration's determination to achieve peace, but for that very reason is not likely to occur.

But the best tactic of all—for which major credit must be given to Mayor Lindsay of New York—is to shift the emphasis from Vietnam to the crisis of the cities. In an angry speech to Harvard students on April 20, Lindsay said white America is "not getting the message" of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, of which he is vice chairman. Nor is it getting the message of the murder of Dr. King. Great is the grief at the death of a martyr, but it rises to a sharp peak and dies away. Some sentiment remains, but action is what is needed.

Thus to shift the focus of attack to the cities is by no means to abandon the issue of Vietnam, for as long as fighting continues there, effective action in the acute problem areas of America will remain impossible. Lindsay's insight is that pressure can still be placed on the Administration to deal honestly with America, but pressure in an area where critics need have no fear of "spoiling" progress by injudicious suggestions, complaints or demands.

Mayor Lindsay spoke scornfully of "vague calls . . . and slogans," directing his fire, according to his aides, not

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THE NATION

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only against the President but Robert Kennedy and Gene McCarthy as well. In the last case, the criticism is the least justified: the trouble is that McCarthy's quiet manner does not convince Negroes, who are accustomed to the lost eloquence and religious appeal of Dr. King, or to the call to arms of Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael. McCarthy, though his campaign for the nomination is going well, must convince the mass of Negro voters that he is their man, if he expects to be elected. He must counter the negativism of Richard Nixon, who under the incongruous color of honesty, in effect tells the Negroes that they will get nothing this time around. The ghettos are certainly not going to be rebuilt or eliminated in a day, but if some of that $30 billion a year which is being spent for murder, rapine and corruption in Vietnam and Thailand were diverted to the ghettos, the first cracks might be seen in the walls of poverty.

The politics of the situation is generally unfavorable. There may be a tax hike which, in an election year, will create still more problems about spending for welfare. Taxes will be raised to keep the war going and to hold the line on the dollar and on inflation, but the price Congressman Mills and his crowd will demand is no increase in the social services most urgently needed.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors reacted coldly to Governor Rockefeller's proposals for a big spending program for the cities. The speech was badly written for a speaker of Rockefeller's style, but its gist was sound. The Administration's record, on the other hand, is wide open to attack. After the Newark outbreak Rockefeller visited Johnson quietly and urged a meeting of top leaders to avert further manslaughter. Johnson did nothing, and Detroit exploded. Now preparations for the coming summer are mainly military—beefing up the National Guard and federal troops to contain mobs in the streets.

The task of the Democratic candidates is twofold. They must keep hammering away at dilatory Administration tactics in negotiations with Hanoi. And they must demand substantive action against the outrage of the cities. They can probably best accomplish the first by being implacable in their demands for the second.

Landmark for the Seamen

In our issue of January 30, 1967, Dorian J. Fliegel ("Curran's NMU: Headquarters vs. the Men at Sea") explained in some detail how it is that Joseph Curran, now in his thirtieth year in office, is the only president the National Maritime Union has ever had. The explanation is quite simple: qualification rules have restricted national officers to some 355 of the union's 50,000 members. A group of dissidents, one of whom was severely mauled some months ago near union headquarters "by persons unknown," obtained reprints of the article and they were widely circulated among the membership. These same dissidents also induced the Secretary of Labor to bring proceedings under the Landrum-Griffin Act to set aside the 1966 election, charging fraud.

Last week Judge Constance Baker Motley, of the Federal District Court in New York, ruled that the 1966 election was illegal. To the union's argument that it was necessary to restrict high office to a coterie of members because of their vast maritime experience, Judge Motley laconically observed that many of the national officers of the powerful seamen's union had not sailed on vessels in twenty-five or thirty years. The decision has been correctly characterized as "a landmark" in the uphill struggle of the seamen to achieve a structure of democratic trade unionism. We cannot refrain from noting, in closing the record on still another case in which *The Nation* has exposed undemocratic trade union practices (see "Postscript to an Article," April 29), that throughout the cold war Joe Curran's NMU has been devoted to a truculent and knee-jerk variety of "anti-communism." Redbaiting may not be the last refuge of scoundrels but in the labor movement it is the first and favorite refuge of labor leaders who run autocratically controlled unions.

It Was the Sheep This Time

About 80 miles southwest of Salt Lake City, the Army Materiel Command operates the Dugway Proving Ground for field tests in chemical and bacteriological warfare. It is one of thirteen associated facilities scattered over the United States engaged in CBR (R standing for radiological) warfare research. At dusk on March 13, Dugway ran a "routine" test involving a high-speed airplane which dispensed 320 gallons of a "persistent chemical nerve agent" in aerosol form, from a height of 150 feet. It also shot off some shells containing the same stuff and burned 160 gallons of it in a disposal pit.

The altitude being so low, and the wind apparently blowing in a safe direction, the Dugway staff foresaw no hazard in their experiment—especially as their proving ground encompasses 850,000 acres, an area larger than Rhode Island. But there are such phenomena as updrafts and changes of wind direction aloft; at any rate, the next day the sheep in Skull Valley, some 27 miles to the west, began dying. They kept on dying to a total of some 6,400, entailing a loss to the owners of about $300,000. There were no casualties among the human beings in the sparsely settled area, although the two veterinarians who performed autopsies on some of the carcasses, and one herdsman, experienced passing illness which might have been caused by the poison that killed the sheep.

The first reaction at Dugway, with its 500 military and 1,400 civilian personnel, was one of incredulity; the base then became secretive and defensive. However, when Brig. Gen. William W. Stone arrived from Washington, he said: "We're in the position of being highly suspect until we can prove otherwise." Now the matter is no longer in doubt. In a telegram to Sen. Frank E. Moss of Utah, the U.S. Public Health Service states that "tests have isolated a compound in snow, water, sheep blood, sheep liver tissue and in grass taken from sheep's stomachs which is identical to that agent supplied by the Army. . . ."

The physiological effects produced by nerve gases are well known. Cholinesterase, a chemical produced by the body, regulates the passage of nerve impulses from one neuron to the next over a junction or synapse. An anti-

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cholinesterase agent will disable nerve action and cause death. According to a report to the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, gases or aerosols containing such an agent "create casualties before their presence can be detected by human senses. Less than a minute of exposure is lethal. As gases, they travel via the lungs, although a liquid droplet will penetrate the skin. . . . Symptoms begin with respiratory troubles, salivation and perspiration, vomiting, cramps, involuntary eliminating, and leading through convulsions to death."

Medical World News (April 12) describes the burial of the sheep carcasses by small bulldozers supplied by Dugway, and quotes a doctor at a small hospital in the area: "The sheep's troubles are over. Now I'd start worrying about people." Another doctor says, "We should bear in mind that with a slight amount of misdirected contaminant, there could be a massive human disaster."

Daryl E. Lembke of the *Los Angeles Times* asked Dr. Mortimer Rothenberg, scientific director of a staff of 450 Dugway chemists, bacteriologists, engineers and other technicians, whether he wasn't disturbed to be working with chemicals and bacteria that could wipe out the human race. Dr. Rothenberg's answer was that the Russians are experimenting with such materials.

That, of course, is the standard attitude of the scientists and engineers of all militarily advanced nations, except for those we-won't-go individuals belonging to the Society for Social Responsibility in Science and a few other such groups. *The Nation* commented editorially on this dilemma only a few days before the sheep disaster (March 11, "Passing the Biological Buck"). Perhaps the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the National Academy of Sciences and the National Research Council will now speed up their deliberations in this field (relative to U.S. chemical-biological warfare in Vietnam), with a view to ultimate international control of agents which may be as dangerous to the survival of the human race as nuclear-armed missiles.

Fed Up with Reagan

In this season of political surprises, another shock may be in the offing, this time in California. Without benefit of publicity, an organization known as the Reagan Recall Committee is quietly gathering signatures to force Gov. Ronald Reagan into a recall election. The committee claims to have collected 200,000 names on recall petitions, and is confident of obtaining the required 780,000 by the July 31 deadline.

Most political prophets say the petition drive has little chance of success, but they said the same thing about the Peace and Freedom Party in California, which not only qualified for the ballot but had some 39,000 signatures to spare. For what it is worth, we predict that Governor Reagan would survive a recall campaign, but if it became obvious at the time of the Republican National Convention that he was being forced into an election, that fact would hamper his Presidential maneuvering in Miami.

THE CAPITAL SCENE

WASHINGTON, LIKE IT IS

FAITH BERRY

Miss Berry is a free-lance writer who for the past three years has been contributing from abroad to American and foreign publications. She is now living in Washington, D.C.

Washington

"This city is turnin' on," a college student told an audience of some fifty at a recent panel discussion in the nation's capital—"and we're not turnin' off and droppin' out either." The issue was how students view the war and the draft. Speaking for four other similar sounding participants, the youth told listeners that the panelists were symbols of a new era for Washington:

> The number-one city doesn't speak for us on the war, the draft, or the war in the cities—the number-one city can't even vote for itself, to represent what to speak for. So we, the new generation will speak for ourselves. . . . And we will change this city into a new symbol—one *where it's at*—where you *tell it like it is* . . . and if you want to, you can *do your thing.*

Parts of Washington have been looking like *where it's at to do your thing* for about a year—against the war and the draft, in the arts and the university, on the racial front, in the ghetto, in life styles—with the main emphasis on creating alternatives: creating them for the existing system, creating what doesn't exist, and trying to substitute for what already does. The capital, for all else it includes, has five large universities, a 65 per cent black population, and the seat of government ten minutes from the Pentagon. And now it's swinging—between being a happening, a disaster area, and occasionally a citadel of hope. It's changing, especially for the young who seek change most.

Last December, a fund-raising book fair was held by some twenty Washington organizations for a Like It Is Bookshop—due to open as soon as a site is found—with books, magazines, pamphlets not obtainable elsewhere in town; with lectures and debates presented supposedly to tell it like it is on issues ranging from mid-Center to the far Left. The book fair was held at the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington's independent research center that has for its main purpose an effort to help create alternatives. Since opening in 1963, it has been a supporter of *do your thing* when that could hardly be done in many places in Washington. The institute's research has been not only on how to end the cold war, the war in Vietnam, and war everywhere else but on an analysis of new social and cul-

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tural experiments, concepts in education and public policy especially pertinent to the little federal district that, now more than ever, seems to be trying to govern the world.

Also opening new possibilities are some *Are-You-Running-With-Me-Jesus?* churches in town, a few of which have made the church about the only part of the Establishment some people don't want to hammer away at. The church has been able to keep going through almost 2,000 years of crisis, and these churches in Washington might be showing how it's done. One, St. Stephens and the Incarnation, with interracial, international membership in a city which not so long ago had no interracial neighborhoods, offered at this year's Lenten services, guest speakers delivering *Tell It Like It Is Sermons.* This church also had H. Rap Brown last year after the Cambridge rebellion, telling it his way. With a minister (Rev. William Wendt) whom some have called "Christ in the 20th Century," the St. Stephens basement has been the scene of be-ins, learn-ins, love-ins, art exhibits, poetry readings, "soul sessions," anti-war, anti-draft organization meetings, African tribal dances, discussions on civil rights legislation, puppet shows and lectures on topics from LSD to germ warfare.

The Lincoln Memorial Temple, where Stokely Carmichael has spoken, gave its parish hall over to public planning sessions for the Pentagon march. Two recently opened coffeehouses, The Iguana and Through the Gate, featuring weekend jazz, folk-rock, poetry readings, plays and art exhibits, are in the basements of churches. Another church coffeehouse, The Mustard Seed, open since last fall, gives an average of 100 hippies a free meal every night. Poetry readings, chess and music are also on the program; a few marijuana takers and LSD trippers have come in, been welcomed, but invited to come back in another condition.

The ghetto is where it's at for more than half of the city's black population. It's where the bloc tenements, the blues and the soul food are—where many are still living where they were forced to live when the city had Jim Crow restrictions. The new emphasis in Washington, as elsewhere, is on black cultural identity, unity and *do your thing* in new arts and culture centers. Last June, Colin Carew, a former SNCC staffer and once an architecture student, organized The New Thing Center for Art and Architecture. "Some white Washingtonians thought it was for practicing karate in the front and storing guns in the back," Carew, who started the project with a staff of four, tells when he explains *The New Thing.* The center wasn't preparing riots; if anything, it was preventing them. It organized to tap the creative talent of children and teenagers in the ghetto, and at the same time, to develop black cultural identity. "We're open to any kid off the block, but it happens most of the kids off the block are black," says Carew. The center started in a dry-cleaning plant renovated for classes in drawing, painting, dance and creative writing. With an OEO grant and funds from private donations, it was able to move to a nearby four-story house, adding enough space to accommodate some 250 of the young between the ages of 2 and 20, five days a week. Local jazz musicians were sponsored in weekly concert at a nearby church. Alleys were cleared out for play space. A group of local architects was organized to draw up designs for building in the neighborhood. Last fall the staff enlarged to include the New Thing Flick Company, teaching photography and film making. In September, space will again be added for about fifty participants in what Carew calls "a place for cats and chicks to come who don't dig school—and don't go—for the hard-core dropouts and the unwed mothers." This is to be the New Thing High School, non-accredited, without grades or diplomas.

In another ghetto area, a group of residents, The Cardozo Area Arts Committee, started in 1966 a center for adult education, The New School of Afro-American Thought. It opened to tell about black culture to both blacks and whites, but now is telling it only to blacks. The initial effort for the school opening was led by a young poet with funds raised from the sale of neighborhood art projects. It was here last December that Stokely Carmichael called together the first meeting of representatives from some twenty civil rights organizations to form a Black United Front. The school began as the first tuition-free institution in Washington to concentrate on the past of blacks taught by blacks—open to the public for classes and exhibits on the history of Africa, of black Americans dating from slavery, of the development of spirituals, jazz, blues, through present-day contributions in the arts and literature. There were and still are jazz workshops, an art gallery, foreign language classes, and a high school remedial program. Annual membership has been $1, and some 350 students have been enrolled. The school recently made plans to move to larger quarters, still has many of the same courses, but the emphasis is now much more militant. Whites, accused by New School associates of "spying, coming in out of curiosity, walking around like the school was a museum, and not being able to contribute to a common black experience," are no longer given membership or, except in rare circumstances, permitted in the building.

Over issues arising from increasing black militancy, Howard, the nation's largest predominantly black university, was recently closed to most of the student body for four days. Some 1,000 undergraduates, until the school was reopened, took over running the campus from parking lot to switchboard—posting signs that temporarily renamed the institution "Black University." It had been closed because students protested the dismissal of thirty-nine undergraduates who had disrupted a Charter Day affair by reading a charter proposing that the school be "re-established"—"to meet the needs of the world's oppressed peoples . . . and renamed Sterling Brown University," after the poet-folklorist who was once a professor there.

At two other local universities, students stressing black cultural identity have organized groups officially recognized on their campuses—last fall The Organization of African and Afro-American Students began at American University, and The Black Student Union at George Washington.

Another campus activity that's *do your thing* for a couple of hundred students—besides sex, drugs, organizing against the war, and burning mock draft cards—has

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Identifying Mark of the New Thing Center
Drawn by one of the Children

been teaching at student-led Free Universities. The movement started later here than in other places, but since beginning last fall on the Georgetown campus with some eighty courses, and at American University with twenty-one, plus learn-ins, it has made Washington one of the Free University centers of the nation. Typical courses: "Acid, Grass, and Zen," "Problems in Guerrilla Warfare," "Appreciation of Wine," "Black People—The Indelible Immigrants" and "The Establishment Press." Student-led forums open to the public have also been held with visiting professors lecturing on Vietnam, Southeast Asia, pacifism and conscientious objection. Foreign students have held seminars on their own countries, and free courses have been given in foreign languages.

Off the campus, freedom means doing your thing about what the year-old *Washington Free Press* on the cover of a recent issue termed "mindless middle-class moralism." One alternative is the Washington Free Community—first discussed last December by some like-minded Washingtonians at the (now defunct) Ambassador Psychedelic Theater. For a growing subculture which first began appearing last summer (and now gets more obvious as the weather turns warmer), the Community is as "free" as Washington can be on $2 a day, room and board.

With the help of two young local architects, the partnership of Michels-Fields, the Free Community began officially renting in early spring. Occupants live in three renovated, sparsely furnished houses of eight to ten rooms each, at a monthly cost of approximately $25 per person. Three other such houses with Free Community-oriented tenants were renting before the Community was organized. Food and vegetables have been bought through farmers' markets; staples and canned goods at discount prices through one already existing co-op store. This costs another $30 monthly. Additional housing, located by a Free Community Housing Exchange and assessed by Michels-Fields, is being renovated by a Free Community Co-op Housing Renovation Committee. A job exchange seeks temporary employment for Community tenants; three Community stores sell clothing, jewelry, pottery and leather goods of those whose living is made from handicrafts. The nearby (Virginia) Twin Oaks Farm, where several Community members now live, is to be a source of Community food, and a co-op child-care center is also planned.

Some local residents, though not living co-op, support the effort. A student at the Institute for Policy Studies is a chief organizer. The institute visiting lecturer, Paul Goodman, who has been advancing such proposals for years, telling us we were all growing up absurd, also approves. The Washington Society of the Parents of Flower Children and The Citizens of the Georgetown Community don't approve. Shrieks have been heard about the psychedelic shops on Wisconsin Avenue and M Street, and how Washington Free Community is turning part of the city into a hippie colony—something like the way Dupont Circle Park looked last summer, with a *mélange* of everything from drugs to folk-rock. Community people, calling themselves not hippies but "free men," have established Interface, their own citizens' association for keeping a dialogue going with citizens' committees, parents, clergy, police and youth; they meet at The Mustard Seed. Also planned is a Community "Indoor Park," with an information center, coffeehouse, bookstore (reportedly, *The Like It Is Bookshop*) and craft shops.

Supporting the Community idea and, as a part of it, also creating jobs, are the *Washington Free Press,* the underground alternative to the local papers, and the Liberation News Service, started last summer to feed information to the national underground press; they are assisted by Insurgent Printing and Graphics. [See "Underground Press: Growing Rich on the Hippie" by Thomas Pepper, *The Nation,* April 29.] Last January, these three joined Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Washington Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam, and the Washington area Committee for The Resistance, in a three-story town-house headquarters now named The Liberated Zone. In addition to its regular activities, the Zone has supported student demonstrations in front of the Selective Service, and protests against the

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increasing number of Washington-based defense research agencies and defense industries. The alliance also recently organized The Washington Draft Resistance Union for work among high school students. The Washington Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam, in contact with some twelve peace groups in the city, has been publicizing all local anti-war activities in a *Mobilizer* newsletter. The main hallway of the office headquarters, which in February showed an "Eyemaker of New York" collage collection of war photos superimposed on Madison Avenue Americana, has been converted into a Free Community art gallery.

Another Community counterpart, but on the scene almost a year before the co-ops began, is a theatre of protest for experimental American plays—The American Playground—organized when a former San Francisco Actors' Workshop co-director, Marc Estrin, settled in Washington. Joining forces with lawyer-playwright Edward De Grazia, other Washingtonians who put up money, and a cineast-guerrilla theatre experimentalist from Ohio, Estrin has been overseeing Institute for Policy Studies workshops in acting, dance, cinematography and guerrilla theatre. The group plans to begin working publicly in June in a former firehouse turned 200-seat theatre. Plans include occasionally getting the audience into the act; an underground film subscription is scheduled. The experiments have been heralded as being done nowhere else—although Jerzy Grotowski's Polish Theater Lab and Richard Schechner's Workshop might be guessed to have a few of the same acting techniques.

Estrin, who has called guerrilla theatre "the most communicative nonviolent means of protest being used today as an art form," has already been out doing exercises with Playground workshop performers in rehearsed street happenings and guerrilla theatre at indoor events, both for special occasions and in support of anti-draft and anti-war demonstrations: last Hiroshima Day, at the Pentagon; in front of the Justice Department; inside President Johnson's church (dressed as worshipers and handing out leaflets during a sermon); showing up at conferences and meetings, satirizing issues and political leaders; at the formal reopening of Ford's Theatre on the street with a mock scene of MacBird meeting John Wilkes Booth; and during the recent speech of a Presidential candidate, staging a funeral march to represent their idea, presumably, of the death of electoral politics, overturning a coffin of campaign buttons and a crumpled American flag.

Playground costumes and materials have been original and authentic, if sometimes looking as though provided by the Salvation Army. An ad in the *Washington Free Press* on March 27 might explain where some come from in an emergency:

> This is not a joke. The Guerrilla Theatre urgently needs pajamas for its next surprise attack, preferably black. Bring them to the *Washington Free Press* office . . . or call . . . and we'll pick them up. If you have only one pair, sleep naked.

Alternatives have been found to as much as possible in the nation's capital—except as yet there are no *tell it like it is* postcards to send the folks back home.

'NO ORDINARY LIGHT'

REFLECTIONS ON NONVIOLENCE

JOAN V. BONDURANT

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Half the world away from Memphis, Tenn., some twenty years ago, a heartsick Prime Minister, himself a noted freedom fighter, put into words the sorrow of a nation: "The light has gone out of our lives," Nehru broadcast to the Indian people, "and there is darkness everywhere."

Mahatma Gandhi was dead. His body had taken three bullets, fired point-blank by a young Brahman. At his trial the assassin described his profound frustration "so long as the Gandhian method was in the ascendance." Without Gandhi, he argued, Indians could be free to retaliate. Through the use of direct and unrestrained action, "Indian politics could become practical," and those who practiced such politics could grow powerful.

A man dedicated to the proposition that violence could be restrained even during the heated conduct of overt conflict (*providing* that those who fought persevered in the fashioning of new and creative techniques) had been slain by a simple act of extreme violence. After the initial shock, questions came hard and fast. Had violence indeed won the victory? Wherein lay the instruments to power? Who could best wield them? And power for what? The ends-means problem had never been more dramatically posed.

Twenty years later the news from Memphis has confronted Americans with similar questions. That the context is so very different has its own significance, but there is much to be learned by taking a steady look—not only at the similarities but also at the contrasts. For today, through another act of simple, extreme violence a fearless American, dedicated to struggle without violence, lies dead. And the questions are still with us.

How is it possible that in the twenty years between the death of Gandhi and the death of Dr. King the basic questions about nonviolence have not been answered? One may begin by suggesting that the truly fundamental ques-

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tions have seldom been asked. To contemporary America the posing of such questions, and the shifting of focus which that necessitates, has now become imperative. For those who believe, as did Gandhi's assassin, that power can come through retaliation are promoting "confrontations" in our streets, seeking the repression which such action elicits in the hope that by building upon the reaction to such repression they can generate power which, they say, is to be used to effect political and social change. Let them—and those who would follow them—learn from the experience of others that such methods fail of any constructive purpose. Let them not misread either the immediate outpouring of emotion (which always follows in the wake of the murder of respected leaders), or the destructive acts of those who, with slight capacity for restraint, join the burning and looting and rioting.

The failure of Gandhi's assassin and of those who sought to pursue the line of reasoning which led up to his act was foretold by Nehru as he continued to ponder and amend his words—even as he spoke them—to the bereaved India of 1948. He said that the light had gone out, Nehru reflected, *"and yet I was wrong"*:

> For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light. The light that has illumined this country for these many years will illumine [it] for many more . . . and the world will see it and it will give solace to innumerable hearts. For that light represented the living truth, and the eternal man was with us with his eternal truth reminding us of the right path, drawing us from error, taking this ancient country to freedom.

Nehru, himself instrumental in forging a revolution, had often chafed under the restraints laid upon him by Gandhi. Yet he was later to describe Gandhi as the greatest revolutionary of all time. Here, then, was a statement about leadership, and I shall return to that central question of what is required of the leader who would use methods which are not violent, and the different but also significant demands placed upon those who would follow such a leader.

Gandhi was dead, but the ideas which underlie the technique he had first evolved during his twenty years in the subjugated lands of Africa, and which continued to develop during the struggle for Indian independence, and in the cause of removing social disabilities which bound millions of Indians—this body of ideas and some notion of the technique did not die. That there might be an alternative to violent means for conducting conflict echoed around the world and gave hope to others. It was to such a consideration that the young Martin Luther King was drawn as he entered upon his own leadership of conflict without violence.

During the winter of 1955 the Montgomery bus boycott eloquently opened an era of direct nonviolent action in the American civil rights movement. The constructive surge of those initial months gave every indication that nonviolent techniques would continue to be imaginatively applied. The determination with which Dr. King launched that movement, the spontaneous momentum it gained, and the support aroused throughout the country gave reason to hope that sustained experience would lead to refinement of techniques. ". . . the boycott movement has brought something new into the lives of the Negroes of Montgomery," wrote L. D. Reddick (in *Dissent*, Spring, 1956). "They would be loath to give it up. Whenever the boycott ends, it will be missed."

In those days one dared ask whether lessons from the struggle for civil rights in this country could be used in the search for, and refinement of, techniques for conducting disputes constructively on the international level. It seemed then that few would deny the need to find and advance new methods of conflict. But the promise of Montgomery has yet to be fulfilled even at home. Destructively oriented means accompanied the challenge to leadership; impatience (which Gandhi labeled a form of violence) became the overriding consideration. The objective of integration—so well started toward realization in the Deep South, where Dr. King had moved with sure instinct to effect change through insisting upon legal rights—rapidly eroded as the cry for power took on a racist tenor in the cities of the North. "We shall overcome—*some day*" seemed no longer enough. The desire for instant remedies was translated into the repeated angry demand: "Freedom *now*!" Those who seemed neither to understand nor to care what is required for effecting change, when the nature of that change is profound, listened to the counsels of those prepared to use any means. Threat, fear, guilt and overt violence came to be understood as the effective instruments of change.

It is here that the argument must be joined and the seldom raised questions posed. We all know that immediate change can be effected through violence. Political power does indeed "grow out of the barrel of a gun," as Mao Tse-tung, the master strategist of guerrilla warfare, has instructed every Communist to "grasp as truth." But the significant questions remain: To what purpose? What happens to objectives when unrestrained violence becomes the *chosen* instrument of change? And, above all else, how are basic values to be defended or promoted with the use of means selectively violent?

The argument shifts from means to ends and back again where now it has come to rest on questions about the adequacy of nonviolence. For nonviolence all too often constitutes violence in symbolic form. At times, and with some, it is consciously designed as such; with others, unconsciously sustained. Gandhi came to understand the danger inherent in such unawareness. And in his persistent efforts to fashion alternatives to violence he learned to avoid pitfalls which, in these days, trap many an American as he unwittingly practices his "nonviolent" action. The field of nonviolent action is cluttered with debris, the residue from experiences poorly conceived and having no solid foundation.

Gandhi, who devoted the better part of his life to experiments in the nonviolent conduct of conflict, was also the first to urge that experimentation should be continued. No one was more aware than he of the ease with which nonviolence could be corrupted into violence. In the end he placed his reliance principally upon the leader's carefully trained and tested purity of motive and the followers' equally tested capacity to accept discipline and the suffer-

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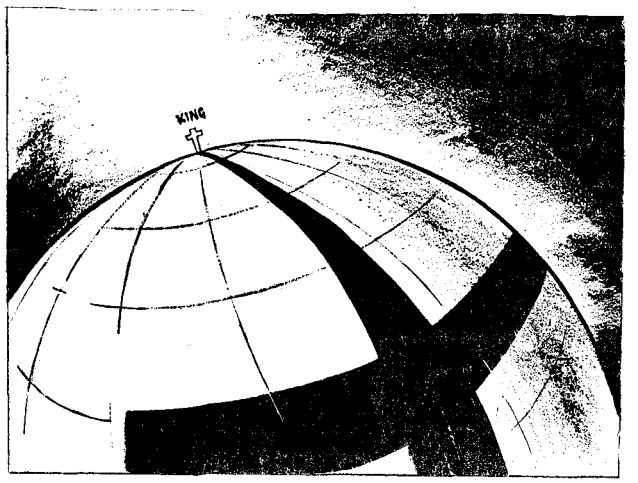
ing so often entailed. If, as some argue, only a man of Gandhi's stature could be such a leader, then the prospects for continued use of nonviolent techniques would indeed be dim. But the technique Gandhi developed was not confined to abstention from violence. He called it *Satyagraha* (literally, the grasping for and holding onto truth). An analysis of the many Satyagraha campaigns conducted in India during Gandhi's lifetime—led not only by Gandhi himself but also by others—leads to the inescapable conclusion that the technique can be understood, and learned and used by others.*

One of the disappointments in the American civil rights movement is that it failed to exploit and refine the Gandhian technique. That it can be analyzed, communicated and learned does not mean, of course, that anyone can emerge as an effective leader of Satyagraha once he understands the technique. A rare combination of qualities is requisite for such a leader: keenness and openness of mind, the capacity to understand human error and human potential (a capacity which, with imaginative insight, makes possible the building of bridges between antagonists), patience as well as drive, so that solutions to profoundly complex conflicts can be worked through toward a synthesis which embraces the felt needs of former opponents as well as the needs and objectives of the Satyagrahis themselves.

Conflict will always be with us; yet the instruments of violence become increasingly more dangerous. Among the obstacles placed in the way of getting on with the task of constructing alternatives, perhaps the most obstinate—and certainly the most obfuscating—is the popular use of those tactics characterized by symbolic violence.

Those who consciously set out with violent intent and destructive objective to prosecute their action through means which are not physically violent may be said to engage in symbolic violence in the sense that they substitute one form of action for another. Such "nonviolent" or symbolically violent acts have the contrived significance of violence once removed. There is another form of symbolic violence: symbolic in the psychoanalytic sense which describes behavior as arising from the unconscious, conditioned by personal history. Violence symbolized in this sense may well represent an unconscious wish (to be violent), a counterwish (to be nonviolent) or even both at once. There are indeed those who, attached to the ideals of nonviolence, nevertheless engage unwittingly in destructive acts.

The individual who uses symbolic violence but who believes that he is using no violence may be entirely unaware of the substitute nature of his behavior. Self-righteousness readily attaches to the actions of such persons through a failure to examine personal motives or to appreciate its effect in the objective circumstance. Yet others gain a feeling of self-righteousness through explicit use of the alleged guilt of the adversary. They set out to disclose



David Myers, Evening News (London): Ben Roth

The Longer Shadows Fall from the Lofty Mountains—Virgil

this guilt and to use it in prosecuting their "nonviolent" attacks. When a group is actively engaged in displaying the guilt of others, while at the same time demonstrating its own guiltlessness, the mechanism suggests psychological projecting. To use guilt in a situation of conflict is to exacerbate the conflict. Gandhi was quite clear on this. "We must refrain from crying 'shame, shame' to anybody, we must not use coercion to persuade other people to adopt our way. We must guarantee to them the same freedom we claim for ourselves."

If the results are intended to be constructive, the use of symbol requires a high degree of awareness. This is one of many aspects of nonviolence which require further exploration, understanding and refinement.

How, then, are we to cope with our present predicament? Can we press further the significant experiments which Gandhi began? It was in the application of some of Gandhi's methods that a distinguished American met violent death in Memphis. If we fail now to ask the significant questions, we fail to render him the credit appropriate to his achievements.

The dedicated leader of activist Americans may well be caught up in a set of contradictions. A British activist acquainted with both violent and nonviolent revolution has written that "so long as you totally reject the use of violence in any form as a means to any end, you can see clearly, feel purely, know where you stand." Ethel Mannin, whose experience stemmed from the Spanish Civil War but continued through an intimate association with the Indian struggle, has pointed out that the moment one reneges from this position to accept the principles of violence in, for example, the interest of a "just" war or a "modified pacifism," the "ambiguity sets in." It is then that one becomes ethically lost. " 'The ceremony of innocence is drowned.' "

To those who insist upon acting out their understandable anger over undeniable grievances through confrontations in the streets, as well as to others who wait and watch in order to exploit such retaliation for their own purposes, one can only say: If you succeed in undermining

* For examples of Satyagraha campaigns in contrasting settings and with varying objectives, together with an analysis of Satyagraha in action, one may consult Joan V. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (revised edition, 1967), University of California Press.

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hard-won values through the default which arises from unawareness or by failure to learn the hard lessons of history, then violence has indeed won the victory.

Those who seek purposeful retaliation in the streets are also those who denounce the more disciplined violence of the "Establishment": police brutality—often so terribly real—has now become a slogan; judgmental placards condemning action taken in defense of the freedom of other men (mistakenly or not) disclose the acute hostility entertained by those who proclaim their love for all. The point here does not focus upon the entertainment of anger and hostility—that is to be expected, especially from those seized of genuine and profound grievance. The point, rather, is how the anger is to be channeled. Effective management of the feelings is the task and the test of leadership. Refusal to manipulate high emotion on the part of followers is where the effective leader begins. The commitment of those who accept the leadership of such a man begins with an acceptance of the need to learn how to contain impulsive action in the knowledge that it could well be destructive of value and purpose alike.

In the heat of action one can readily forget that within every organization lies some authority. The "power structure" (now a term of intense opprobrium) is just that because, without political structure, man could not handle violence. The state, with its monopoly over violence, arose not by accident but through design. Therein lies the meaning not simply of order in human affairs but essentially of law. The genuine anarchist seeks to eliminate the state and its institutions in order to eliminate violence. Anarchism has always failed because those who genuinely profess it have been able to offer no substitute for violence to control social chaos. The irony is that anarchists have had to resort to violence in their abortive attempts to overthrow the power structure—the very institutions designed through long experience to contain, if not eliminate, violence.

The Gandhian experiments advanced a technique and approach to the conduct of conflict well beyond what many Americans appear to recognize. Perhaps the most remarkable of Gandhi's achievements was his ability to effect revolutionary change without destroying basic values. If we are to contribute to the advance of such a technique—especially to adapt it to our own time and place—we must begin by acknowledging a need to build on what is already known, to refine technique and to develop a truly adequate alternative. A three-point program is indicated:

(*1*) Re-evaluate the means-ends continuum as expressed in action (never losing sight of the need to preserve basic values); (*2*) analyze the failures and pitfalls of symbolic violence so that the program for providing support and concern for all involved in the conflict (including the opponent) can be clearly devised in given conflict situations; and (*3*) distinguish the ideologue from the problem solver so that the effort will not be perverted by those committed to a political and social philosophy which holds that the course of change is predetermined (and the individual can therefore readily be reduced to a pawn in the irrevocable march of history).

Those now taken up with problems of change, and especially those who are in the process of making a commitment or choosing their leaders, are urged to consider this: "The community of the great demonstration . . . strengthens not only the individual but it also unites and helps in creating *esprit de corps*. . . ." The man who comes to a "mass meeting doubting and hesitating leaves it confirmed in his mind that he has become a member of a community." These words were written some years ago by a master manipulator of masses for the purpose of effecting rapid change in a challenge to the existing power structure. They can be read—should one have the inclination—on page 716 of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Appeals such as this can be found in the writings of totalitarian leaders, whether Left or Right.

If, before acting, one were fully to reflect upon the nature of change, however urgent its need; and if, before acting, he were to consider how best to effect the desired reversal in social response, however grievous the injustice; he might do well to juxtapose to the above the following insight by one who, considerably removed from the "unhesitating" crowd, observed (in 1938) that "No common cause can issue from rationalization by which men persuade themselves and not their opponents." (Edward W. Strong, in a lecture delivered before the Philosophical Union, University of California.)

The first test of a constructive movement in social protest is an evaluation of its tone and tactics. Does the movement seek a genuine solution? When questions of choice are forced upon an opponent, is the stress thus generated fully recognized? Is the effort one of support and reassurance to the opponent whose change of habit and behavior is so much desired? To what degree has the encounter established (or suppressed) communication? Has the method embraced an adequate process of inquiry? In what way is the force generated through nonviolent action directed into creative channels—creative, that is, in terms of the overall situation (including the integration of the opponent and his felt needs)?

The conduct of conflict is demanding and complex, and every area of knowledge which man has acquired should be adapted to the development of techniques of force which are not violent. Until we have faced such major questions about conflict and have endeavored to build the framework to support the action, we are in no position to conclude that our hard-won values have become unworthy of us or that our institutions are worthless. To forge the means whereby conflict can be waged constructively, it may well be necessary to become receptive

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to the exciting technology of our day. If we can devise tools to match those of the well-equipped men of violence —disciplined in a time-honored mode of conducting conflict—then we might be relieved from the threat posed by desperate and defeatist moves of yet others who fight in our streets with so little restraint.

The brave of heart and the keen of mind have yet to work effectively to fashion weapons equal to the task of adequately opposing violence with stratagems and instruments of constructive force. Until we have something to put in their place, we attack and deride the disciplined military (on the international field) or the corps of police (on the domestic scene) only at our peril.

The warning is clear that widespread alienation can be the most pronounced outcome of change demanded with such considered hostility as that, for example, of "hate whitey" campaigns. The murder in Memphis provides sad and telling evidence. If we take this lesson to heart, then Martin Luther King will have taught us something even through his death.

WEST GERMANY

YOUNG REBELS, OLD FEARS

CHRISTEL KOPPEL and DAGMAR SCHULTZ
Mrs. Koppel and Miss Schultz have both studied at the Free University of West Berlin and are both at present doctoral students at the University of Wisconsin.

Bombs thrown into U.S. Information Center! Greek Embassy besieged! Attempted assassination against Vice President Humphrey! The Mayor of Berlin resigns! (civil war in Berlin?) High school students sweep Germany with violent demonstrations! Windows of newspaper offices broken by students! (Red terror or Fascist revival? Will Bonn take the course of Weimar?)

Such were the headlines and such the fears of West Berliners and West Germans when revolutionary student fervor took over the universities. The more organized, the more radical and, in recent times, the more violent the activities of Germany's New Left have become, the more exaggerated has been the reaction of those who have seen quiescence as the citizen's prime obligation. No more quiescence for Germany! The students have declared protest to be the duty of a critical citizen and the population has responded with an uproar that well matches the students' agitation.

In the last two years the German student movement has grown into an active, influential New Left which has become the only opposition to the Bonn government. This comparatively new phenomenon has its center in Berlin, which has become the focus of student unrest by reason of its unique economic and political history, and specifically because of its Free University.

The history of the Free University divides into three stages. In 1948, a small group of politically motivated professors and students left the famous Humboldt University in East Berlin and founded the Free University in West Berlin. This action was a protest against the authoritarianism experienced in East Berlin, an echo, though from a different ideology, of the Nazi era. However, the desire of this group for academic autonomy and freedom of opinion was soon lost in a preoccupation with the cold war that produced a general reluctance to criticize the German Government and German society.

In the mid-fifties, students became more and more the apolitical citizens of a welfare state. Sociologist Ludwig von Friedeburg wrote of that period: "Publications which present a more thorough and deeper examination of political questions are read only by a minority . . . whereas *Reader's Digest* finds a wide circulation among the students."

In the early sixties, the war in Vietnam and the proposal of emergency laws to suspend democratic procedures in time of crisis, produced a new upsurge of political activity. The United States' foreign policy and its handling of a rapidly intensifying racial problem disillusioned the students, who had closely associated democratic ideals with American practices.

The progressive character of the Free University, especially the participatory role of the students and the banning of traditionalist and fencing fraternities, was drastic enough to evoke suspicion and criticism. Accordingly, many professors turned down offers from the FU and some of the reforms were compromised in order to establish a prestigious faculty. Furthermore, rapid expansion reduced contact between students and faculty and the influence of the students decreased gradually.

However, from 1948, student political activity had been encouraged by a city that remembered the lack of critical spirit exhibited under the Third Reich. As long as a minority of students were so engaged, and as long as their orientation was anti-Communist as well as anti-Fascist, such behavior was acceptable. The students found support from the Berlin public and press when, after the construction of the wall, they helped fellow students and their families get from East to West Berlin through tunnels, across barbed wire, and by means of forged passports. When the president of the university expelled several students from the student village for possession of explosives, the population and the press were dismayed.

This attitude was not destined to last. The power struggle between faculty and students had sharpened by 1965, and the students became convinced that protest should not be sustained by activist organizations alone, that all students should concern themselves with political issues. The faculty, functioning simultaneously as the administration, was unwilling to accept any criticism which

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questioned their authority, be it from outsiders, students or instructors.

With the expansion of industry, moreover, the demands for academically trained personnel rapidly increased, and the pressures on the FU administration were passed on to the students, who rebelled against the concept of an "academic factory." In the summer of 1966, two of the overcrowded departments decided to introduce time limits for degrees. (This year, when the decision was challenged by the students, a high court in Berlin declared time limits illegal because they violated the constitution of the Free University.)

The growing institutionalization of the university was just one cause of political unrest among the students. As they were becoming concerned about their role as academics, the escalation of the Vietnamese War turned them into critical citizens. The students were no longer willing to accept the existent three-way social division which assigned to them the role of apolitical students, alongside quiescent citizens, and subject to the decisions of professional politicians. And as they confronted the power structure of the university, the students came to realize that their radical demands were not supported by the press or, as a consequence, by any large part of the population.

The city has always had a lively interest in the FU: it existed, in the prevailing view, to demonstrate to the East Germans the function of a university in the "Free World." The students, however, were developing their own ideas about freedom and how to work for it.

The change in political attitude found its first public expression when, in 1964, liberal-to-left-wing student organizations received a plurality in the election of the FU student government. The public, inspired by the Berlin daily press, 70 per cent of which is dominated by the conservative Springer empire, reacted with an outcry against "Communist infiltrators."

The last few years have witnessed almost continuous anti-Vietnamese War protests by students and like-minded citizens. A march of 10,000 people supported the October, 1967 Mobilization in Washington. In April, 1967, Hubert Humphrey was met by 2,000 hostile students, some of whom were arrested and charged with "planning an attempt on the life of the Vice President"—with smoke bombs and pudding.

On June 2, 1967, however, came the climax of student rebellion. The events of that day exposed undemocratic procedures of the government and had a dramatic effect on previously apolitical West German students. The Shah of Iran encountered in front of the Berlin opera house 2,000 demonstrators who were protesting against the dictator and the hospitality extended to him by the West German Government. A clash between students and police ended with the death of a student, Benno Ohnesorg who, participating in a demonstration for the first time, was shot by a policeman.

During the following days Berlin was in a state of emergency, press and the university administration strongly approving the actions of the city government and the police. Heinrich Albertz, in a hasty statement which was to be one of his last acts as the city's Mayor, denounced the students as "rowdies" and blamed them for Ohnesorg's death.

Senate, police and press released one-sided information about the event, calling it "terrorization of the city by several hundred idlers," and the police union denounced the students as a minority of "hysterical notorious noisemakers," an opinion shared by the majority of the population. The students responded with attempts to engage the local citizenry in informal sidewalk debates.

In all major West German university cities, students, writers, professors and trade unions expressed their solidarity with the students of West Berlin. Ohnesorg was the "coincidental victim of a planned attempt to suppress an extra-parliamentary opposition," said Hans-Joachim Haubold, chairman of the Federation of German Student Organizations. This federation, as well as several individual student groups, demanded a thorough investigation of police and government officials and their possible removal from their posts. Three months later Mayor Albertz was forced by his party to resign and with him the Senator of the Interior and the police chief, but this did not lead to a city government more sympathetic to the students.

Rudi Dutschke, the dark-haired, intense leader of the student movement who made the cover of the German news magazine *Der Spiegel,* is one of the most vocal theoreticians of the left-wing SDS (Socialist German Student Federation). Immediately after Ohnesorg's funeral more than 4,000 students held a congress in Hannover on "University and Democracy," analyzing the events of June 2 and trying to find the spark to inflame all West Germany's students. Dutschke called for action centers in all West German universities to provoke politicization in university and society.

In November, 1967, radicalization of the students was channeled by the foundation in West Berlin of the "Critical University," in imitation of the American Free Universities. Out of 240 tenured professors of the FU, fifty officially supported the Critical University (CU), whose main goals reflect the ideas of SDS:

- Public enlightenment concerning political goals and interests of the student movement, the political and economic situation of West Germany and West Berlin and the preparation of unified actions with democratic-minded workers and high school students.
- Preparation for resistance against future emergency actions, abuse of the constitution, and police terror.
- A campaign for the critical evaluation of Germany's attitude toward liberation movements in the Third World and their destruction by the American power elite, to be carried out in the universities and among the general population, including Americans stationed in West Berlin.

The CU, with participation of interested high school students, as well as blue- and white-collar workers, is supposed to develop into a component of an extra-parliamentary, anti-authoritarian opposition. It plans to prepare public hearings and tribunals (the first one to be against the Springer press monopoly), and to establish a documentation center exposing the abuse of science for inhuman, destructive purposes.

Besides these new forms of public instruction, the CU

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Juhl, P.I.B. (Copenhagen): Ben Roth

conducts colloquia, discussion groups and seminars (no traditional lectures!) dealing with topics which formerly have been avoided or distorted, such as: "Economic Crisis and Social Policy in West Berlin"; "Natural Sciences and Mathematics" (to determine dangers inherent in the apolitical attitude of natural sciences); "Medicine Without Humanity" (to examine experiments with human guinea pigs during and after the Third Reich). Other topics are: "Democratization of the Schools," "Sexuality and Domination," "The Function of Intelligence and Science in the Vietnam War and in the Imperialist 'Development Policy,'" "The Model of Cuba and the Future of Latin America."

At least twenty-five of the thirty-three West German universities have now followed the Berlin example and organized critical universities or at least critical lecture series. The general agreement is that university and society must be reformed, if necessary through revolution.

The movement, at least as far as SDS is concerned, is essentially based upon theories of Marx, Mao and Herbert Marcuse. "Our minimal program is the maintenance of the bourgeois democracy, our maximal condition the transformation of the capitalist countries into Socialist ones," explained former SDS chairman Reimut Reiche.

Students see the parliamentary opposition as an integral part of the establishment which represents the "authoritarian, repressive, established society" of the Federal Republic of Germany. They identify themselves with an extra-parliamentary opposition whose objectives are, according to Dutschke, "to aim toward a system of direct democracy, that is, of a democracy of councils [patterned after workers councils] which allows people to elect and vote out their temporary representatives as they deem it necessary on the basis of a critical consciousness toward any form of power."

The method to be used is a "long march" through the whole system of institutions—the family, schools, universities, vocational schools, factories. The politicization of other parts of the population is, according to Dutschke, more feasible in Berlin than in other cities because of the tense situation of its work force, the outmoded structure of industry, the superannuation of the population, and the dependence on outside subsidies.

The students realize, however, that the role they can play in mobilizing workers is at present fairly limited. "We lost contact with the working masses long ago," said Reiche. This fact is more understandable if one considers that only 5 per cent of the students come from working-class families and probably not all of these are involved in radical political activities. Another reason for the lack of communication might be the academic high rhetoric typical of German intellectuals. It is hoped that eventually the unification of workers and students in form of councils will bring up the question of dual government. The short-term goal is to instill in the workers a consciousness of their political and economic situation and to fulfill supporting functions in strikes.

The immediate impact of the movement cannot be denied. Though it has been criticized for a lack of concrete goals, its direct influence on the development of certain national issues, such as the proposed Emergency Laws, East-West German relations and news media monopolies, has been acknowledged. The greatest criticism has been brought against the more violent tactics of the movement. Dutschke has himself said that a systematic provocation with tomatoes or stones is absurd and can only be understood as an initial form of true argumentation. Violent force is an inherent factor of power and therefore, according to him, has to be answered with demonstrative and provocative counterforce. The form counterforce must take is determined by the form of argument. However, SDS believes that terrorist force, though feasible in certain developing countries, is no longer necessary in the metropolis.

But in Germany, as elsewhere, there seems to be a willingness to see revolutionary methods of the Left and particularly of students as the beginning of metropolitan guerrilla warfare and of a new oppressive authoritarianism. Berlin students have been criticized for irrationally seeking their image of a future world in the developing countries. Liberals, who resent the cynicism and contempt directed against them by the "rebels," eagerly point out the naiveté of this ideology and at the same time, along with conservatives, compare methods of the radicals to those of the Hitler Youth.

SDS chairmen Frank and Karl Dietrich Wolff have explained the parallel drawn with movements in the developing countries as not being a simple identity of interests. "Political struggle never is solely based on existing subjective interests; at least as important is the consciousness of the objectively necessary liberation from domination and force, whether we are dealing with Bolivia, Spain or Germany."

The creation of this consciousness is the goal of the first stage of the societal transformation. The second stage envisioned is to establish a mass base of undergraduates, workers and high school students. The agitation of workers is to be initiated in stagnant and declining industries—Berlin providing a good starting point for this campaign.

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Only after this mass base has been assured can a new Socialist party be formed.

Within the universities the spreading movement calling for student participation and university reform will definitely have a strong voice in reform planning and enactment this year. A government commission on higher education is at present working on wide-scale structural changes in the university system.

On the whole, the student movement has caught Germany by surprise and has left its marks within the universities as well as outside. One indication is the flood of publicity, including numerous pamphlets, books and articles, as well as constant news coverage. As Professor Habermas said recently in a lecture at the University of Wisconsin, the German students lack national issues as big as the war in Vietnam and the civil rights movement which split the population, and they often have to construct issues to mobilize fellow students.

Although violence has been declared by the leaders to be "counterrevolutionary," they approve of it as being at least an answer to violent suppression. This ideology has increasingly given occasion to the widespread reproach that the students intentionally provoke the other side to brutality so as to reveal the latent fascism of government and citizens.

The most recent events have brought about a clear split between the Left and the Right in the population, press and government. Encouraged by the Berlin example, even high school students have gone into the streets. In February, West Germans were stunned by a wave of violent demonstrations which flooded the country. The protests of 12-to-18-year-old students against the increase of transportation fares soon changed to a demand for participation in decision making at school. In one city the uprising went so far as to found an "Anti-High School," which, led by university students on a voluntary basis, offers mainly discussion on sexual taboos and sexual aberrations. Sex is still a taboo subject in German schools.

The same month, preceding the planned Springer tribunal, a film was shown to 800 students at the FU on how to make Molotov cocktails; it ended, provocatively, with a picture of the Springer building in Berlin. That night several windows of Springer distribution offices were broken with stones. Springer, after having been accused of his Nazi past, now presented himself as the martyr, comparing his broken windows to those of the Jewish stores destroyed by Nazis in the "Kristallnacht" of 1938. Most of the liberal students disassociated themselves from the violent tactics, realizing that a Socialist revolution is not feasible in Germany at this time, and that violence results in the loss of popular support for student demands.

Tension pervaded Berlin until the city government at the last minute authorized an anti-Vietnamese War demonstration on February 18 to prevent another bloody clash between students and police. Carrying red flags and Che Guevara posters, 10,000 people, including 4,000 students and visitors from European countries and the United States, marched on the U.S. Army Headquarters.

The Mayor immediately called for a counter-demonstration for "peace and freedom," in support of the United States. It was sponsored by most of the unions and, being scheduled on a workday, drew 150,000 people. Some Berliners took this opportunity to express their indignation in ways which were too drastic even for the authorities: banners demanding concentration camps for students and claiming, "Under Adolf this would not have happened," had to be removed. A few citizens believed they had fulfilled their democratic duty by beating up anyone with long hair, a beard or rimless glasses.

The past few weeks have seen an overall escalation of conflict in Germany, caused by the shooting of SDS leader Rudi Dutschke by an admirer of Hitler, said to have been inspired to the act by the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr. The students reacted with violence, making the Springer press empire their immediate target. They attacked its buildings and distribution network and blamed Springer for the climate of intense anti-communism and hostility toward the student Left which they claimed led to the Dutschke shooting. Using Molotov cocktails and the force of numbers, the students tried to block distribution of Springer papers, ransacked several editorial offices, and burned out some delivery trucks.

This carrying of the conflict to the streets has led to a widely expressed fear that Bonn is going the way of Weimar, and many false analogies to the street fighting of that earlier period have been drawn. In fact, the confrontation so far has been entirely between the students and the police, rather than between Left and Right; the only organized Right, the NPD, has avoided any open clash, perhaps because of upcoming elections. Police brutality has brought support for the students from some parts of the population and even from government officials. On the other hand, support from the East German Government, publicly expressed during the riots, could backfire against the students.

The recent flare-ups could lead, on the positive side, to greater government vigilance against monopolization of the mass media by concerns as large as Springer, and could lead to a new spirit of dynamism within the Social Democratic Party and a possible breakup of the coalition government. This might restore true parliamentary opposition in Germany. On the negative side, the recent rioting might give just the impetus which the government needs to pass the Emergency Laws. Fear of this is expressed in the fact that the students have now switched from emphasizing Springer to concentrating on opposing the Emergency Laws. Another negative consequence is that rioting might help the neo-Nazi NPD gain votes in the upcoming elections.

With the lack of a radical Socialist party in West Germany, the country needs a new Left and it can only be hoped that the present movement will not further aid the reactionaries and thus improve the chances of the ultra-right-wing NPD (National Democratic Party of Germany). If Berlin accepts the notion that students are nothing but "terrorists," then indeed there will be a great danger of radicalization of the Right. But if the New Left succeeds in defining concrete goals, planning effective strategies, and increasing its support among the general population, it may become a truly influential force with which any parliamentary government will have to reckon.

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NEW ZEALAND CONFERENCE

Peace, Power and Politics in Asia

C. P. FITZGERALD
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Wellington

In the first week of April a conference was held in Wellington, New Zealand, under the title of this article. It was subtitled a "National Conference on Vietnam, SEATO and Political Stability in Asia." "Asia," to New Zealanders as to Australians, tends to mean east Asia, and in particular Southeast Asia. As the conference coincided in dates very closely with the Ministerial Council of the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), held just up the street in the New Zealand Parliament House, it was widely supposed that the Peace, Power and Politics conference had been called as a counter demonstration. This is not really the case. The PPP organizers had planned to get their conference together when they had raised the necessary money —a factor at first highly conjectural, and certainly not to be equated with a narrow timetable. A group of young New Zealanders were the prime movers in this enterprise, and their outstanding success invites a reconsideration of many current ideas about their country and its standing in the modern world.

New Zealand has long been known and admired as a pioneer of the welfare state, the almost too perfect example of a propertied democracy, the country where race relations with a non-European indigenous minority, the Maoris, were regulated on a basis of democracy, equal civil rights and general tolerance. New Zealanders themselves are the first to question some of these assumptions, entering caveats against excessive praise. They point out that New Zealand, whether under a Labour or National Party government, has been conservative in its approach to wider questions of world affairs, has tended to shelter under the wing of the old British Empire, to which idea many of its citizens remain very firmly, if sentimentally, attached. There has been, they will say, an unwillingness, almost an ostrichlike refusal, to face the hard facts of the south west Pacific area in modern times. Great Britain's decision to withdraw from Asia east of Suez, and its concurrent attempts to enter the European Common Market (even if these latter have so far failed) have created for the first time serious doubts about this traditional attitude, which no longer seems founded on strategic realities or economic certainties.

It is against this background of growing unease and doubt that the PPP conference must be evaluated. The sponsors, a small group with no political platform, were aided by the co-sponsorship of the Committee on Vietnam, a body which united people of varying opinions who believe the war in Vietnam to be neither politic nor just. As New Zealand's commitment to that war is very small (about 500 men of the armed forces), this movement cannot be said to have had the stimulus of deep national involvement in the war behind it. The PPP sponsors decided to set a registration fee of $10, a not trifling sum for young people to raise. Four hundred registrations were hoped for but it was thought that the figure might be as low as 200. With great courage, and not a little faith, the committee of sponsors decided to go ahead, nonetheless, with invitations to a number of well-known people overseas, in America, Europe, India and Australia, whose fares to New Zealand the conference would pay. Just how the bills might be met was somewhat uncertain.

At this point the Minister for Finance, Mr. Muldoon, gave the sponsors a great lift, though that was not his intention, by refusing foreign exchange for these overseas fares. The facts were made public, and the result, apart from a valuable free advertisement for the conference, was that many New Zealanders with overseas funds at their disposal offered to contribute to the fares, which were thus easily met. At the same time, the main organizer of the conference, Mr. Alister Taylor, was dismissed from his post at the New Zealand Broadcasting Commission for his PPP activity. Because of the publicity and protest resulting from this action, the NZBC retracted its decision, but Mr. Taylor took the position that he was now too busy and refused reinstatement. Meanwhile, registration mounted rapidly to a final astonishing figure of more than 13,000. Finance was no longer a problem. The conference having thus demonstrated that it had wide public support and interest, the press gave it fair and excellent coverage.

All this occasioned no little surprise and even shock among the more conservative elements of society. When the conference proved that it could pack one of the largest halls in Wellington on a weekend of perfect late summer weather, not likely to be experienced again for six months or more, the wonder grew. This audience was made up perhaps more than half of young people—university students, recent graduates and men and women under 30. It was entirely orderly, with no demonstrations, or street marches, no exhibitions of emotional reaction to the matters under discussion; but showing a vast majority support for the views of the principal speakers who, each in his way, was critical of the involvement in the Vietnamese War, and urged a new approach to the problems of Southeast Asia. It was demonstrated conclusively that New Zealanders, and in particular the younger generation, were no longer willing to accept old formulas and wanted, above all, information and an outline of alternative policies. In this expectation they were satisfied by Mr. Krishna Menon, who gave the opening address, and stressed the difference in approach between Indians, and other Asians, and the Western peoples. Well-known New Zealand academics, and some from Australia also, supported the theme that the policy of the existing governments in Australia, New Zealand and the United States seemed bankrupt and unable to supply any expectation of a satisfactory solution. Two speakers from the United States, neither of whom is

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an American citizen, but both long-term residents of the country, Felix Greene and Prof. Conor Cruise O'Brien, gave somewhat varying interpretations of the movement of opinion in the United States, and its possible outcome on policy toward Vietnam and in the forthcoming Presidential election.

On landing at Wellington, Professor O'Brien declared to the press that he did not believe President Johnson would stand for re-election, and that if he did, he would not win. This was on Saturday, March 30. When, allowing for New Zealand time, this prophecy was dramatically confirmed on Monday, April 1, before noon, he found himself obliged to recast the speech he had prepared to take account of his own prescience. It was to be expected that in a conference where most of the attendants were opposed to participation in the war, and almost all were hoping for guidance toward an alternative solution other than ultimate military victory, the news would be evaluated at a level of significance perhaps higher than it deserved. The governments of Australia and of New Zealand were assiduous in playing down the importance of the President's declarations, but these efforts were to some extent modified by press reports of the world-wide reaction. It may be said that in New Zealand, as in Australia, informed opinion, and wider circles also, are beginning to realize that President Johnson's declarations mark a turning point in the history of Western relations with Southeast Asia, and that his decision not to seek re-election gives these declarations a stamp of finality which previous bombing pauses and other endeavors have lacked. Professor O'Brien, to be sure, quoted General Sherman, including the vital final clause—"and if elected I will not serve"—which, as he pointed out, was thus far absent from the declaration by President Johnson.

The conference in Wellington—known locally as "the other conference"—thus had the good fortune to be held at a date which coincided with this major declaration of policy. Speaker after speaker had for three days demonstrated that policy in major matters was not in fact made in Wellington or Canberra but in Washington, and that no real change in the attitudes of the governments of Australia or New Zealand could be expected under these circumstances until a change occurred in the United States. When the unexpected event actually took place, the majority of delegates and participants were almost at a loss; they had taken far too little account of the movement of opinion within the United States, a movement played down in their local papers and almost ignored as unseemly by their national governments. The preoccupation with political attitudes rather than with economic forces was demonstrated by the very slight attention that had been paid to the possible effects on the stability of the dollar and the world price of gold of any full adherence to the still further escalation attributed to the advice of General Westmoreland. It may be that the people of New Zealand, as of Australia, are poorly informed about Southeast Asian realities; it can be seen that they are also very little acquainted with the true state of American opinion and its often rapid changes.

What was accomplished by this conference? It showed that the people of New Zealand, especially the younger generation, are interested in and uneasy about their national policies; that they seek more, and different, information than is provided in their daily papers; that they are worried by the possible hostile response of Asia to their limited commitment in the Vietnamese War, and now uncertain as to their security in a changing world. These manifestations of public opinion, impressive though they may be in terms of packed halls and full registrations, are likely to impress politicians only if they are translated into voting patterns. One reason for the full attendance and the devoted contribution of services by hundreds of young students can be found in the widespread belief that both political parties are unrealistic in their approach to world affairs, and offer little promise of changing their policies to meet a new situation. The young may be too enthusiastic and cherish unreal aspirations, but the elderly are all too obviously without new ideas or comprehension of what goes on in the world. They are complacent without giving any evidence of being wise. In these circumstances, they deserved a kick, and in the polite New Zealand way, they certainly received one.

LETTERS *(Continued from page 586)*

in a joint effort for the social and economic advancement of the marginal Dominican farmer and his family.

Conrad Wilkinson

Amherst, Mass.

DEAR SIRS: Mr. Wilkinson's report on his own activities can hardly be taken as the observations of an unbiased witness; there is also an element of self-righteous defensiveness about his comments. His attempt to employ the jargon of social science ("paradigm," "three-dimensional realities") makes much of his communication incoherent. Substantively, the argument that the United States was practically sovereign in Mr. Wilkinson's Office of Community Development . . . is in fact supported by all of his superiors in USAID. The figures he cites are disputed by authorities less biased than he, and my own and others' studies of the apolitical farmers' groups he mentions conclude that they are about as effective as the pacification program in Vietnam.

I am all in favor of Mr. Wilkinson's building of latrines and other limited construction projects, but he—and we—should not be deluded into thinking that this will significantly change the social and political infrastructure of the Dominican Republic, or that it has anything to do with modernization or nation building. . . . No one would dispute that the Dominican marginal farmer and his family need help, but his status will not be improved by the kind of inane, typically AID rhetoric Mr. Wilkinson employs or by the vacuous programs in which AID is often engaged. Given enough U.S. money, the projects carried out by Mr. Wilkinson are relatively easy; the point of the article, however, was that in the much more difficult realm of political development, AID and the U.S. Government generally have abdicated. AID projects are being carried out in a political vacuum and are bound ultimately to be irrelevant, meaningless and probably self-defeating. While the United States is largely standing still, the people of the Dominican Republic and of other developing nations are undergoing radicalization of revolutionary proportions. This clearly has important—and probably catastrophic—implications for U.S. foreign policy.

Howard J. Wiarda

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Some Daughters of China

A MORTAL FLOWER. *By Han Suyin. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 413 pp. $6.95.*

A DAUGHTER OF HAN. *By Ida Pruitt, from the story told her by Ning Lao T'ai-t'ai. Stanford University Press (Reissue). 249 pp. $7.50. Paper $2.95.*

MEMORIES FOR A CHINESE GRAND-DAUGHTER. *By Stuart and Roma Gelder. Stein & Day. 286 pp. $6.95.*

MARILYN BLATT YOUNG
Mrs. Young is the author of a forthcoming book on American China policy.

It is strange that China remains so unknown despite all the travel books, analyses and pictures. Unknown not just in its "closed" present but in its wide-open past, through which Westerners walked with such illusions of assurance and mastery. We think of China always as vast, though it is not much larger than the United States which is merely big. No doubt China's millions make the difference. One could feel in control of China intellectually, when its millions could be dismissed as passive, blank-faced and empty-minded. That is not so easy now. Perhaps for the first time we are being forced to meet Chinese, ***all*** Chinese (not just the more or less familiar intellectual), face to face. Someday this may be true of Vietnam as well. Then the "crypto-racism" described by James Thomson in his illuminating *Atlantic* article on the operations of the State Department will perhaps suffer a defeat. It is easier to annihilate those we do not know; easier to hate too, though with sufficient effort both are possible.

These three very different books do not hand us China on a platter ready to be digested. Instead they expose aspects of China to us, and the job of assimilating what they teach remains our own. Each in its own way complicates our vision, delays judgment, forces a kind of agnosticism—even humility. China is going her own way. Understand her if you can. Manipulation is impossible.

Han Suyin complains, with a bitterness that marks her entire book, that Americans insist on possessing China. "With hysterical passion, with an ecstasy of hatred akin to love, the American experts on China seek to document China for themselves." So too does Dr. Han, but she is half Chinese and the triumph of China has made it possible for her to be whole again, after a lifetime of pain. The revolution was a "Last Judgment" enabling her, among other things, to rediscover her father. He remained in China after 1948 and she, alone of his children, returned and knew that she had, after all, been "right" to love him.

The second volume of Dr. Han's autobiography covers the years 1928 to 1938. Interpersed with direct personal memory are great hunks of Chinese history summarized in a direct and assertive style. She adds little to our knowledge of the events she describes (from the revolution of 1911 to the Long March). Her interpretation is close to that of mainland historians today though she generally avoids using the tedious vocabulary of Marxist historiography. What is valuable about her account is not the ex post facto admiration of Mao or fury at Japanese depredations but her descriptions of how it was *then* when she was a 15-year-old secretary at Peking Union Medical College, a freshman at Yenching University, a pre-med student in Belgium. For all her pride and patriotism, Dr. Han is at the same time a literary craftsman of skill and immense honesty. She does not pretend to a heroism she did not yet have, to convictions that would only come later. Thus major events in recent Chinese history are directly reflected and we learn, with a renewed sense of shock, how much of ordinary life can go on within earshot of cataclysm.

Because she is Eurasian, Dr. Han can take us directly into the half-mad world of the Westerner in pre-revolutionary China, its restaurants and dance halls, its brothels and summer resorts, its universities and its offices. She sees all this from the tormented perspective of a half-caste, who earns better money (for the same work) than a Chinese but less than a Westerner. Dr. Han perfectly captures the very cruel essence of her situation in a moving description of the day she took the entrance examination for Yenching University. In European dress, smoking a cigarette, she is worlds away from the Chinese girls around her. Yet it is to belong to *their* world that she struggles against her Belgian mother, her Eurasian friends and European lovers. The particular world of a Christian university in China is beautifully depicted. As in the first volume, Dr. Han captures a past world and lashes it with historical rage and present pride.

During the two years she worked as a secretary in Peking Medical College Han Suyin often substituted for other secretaries when they fell ill. So, at one point, she took dictation from Ida Pruitt. Some years later Miss Pruitt took dictation from Ning Lao T'ai-t'ai (Mrs. Ning), a vigorous and powerful old lady whose tales of ghosts and demons, of emperors and beggars enveloped Miss Pruitt three times a week for two years. Mrs. Ning ended up by telling, in vast detail, the story of her own life (she was born in 1867), from a protected childhood in Chefoo, through utmost penury, to her relatively comfortable old age, threatened, as the book ends in 1938, by the Japanese.

In *Daughter of Han* Mrs. Ning speaks directly to us, and the exact description of her life's experiences must stand for that of millions, even hundreds of mil-

Many timid politicians will say that . . . it is "not practical" to call for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. But in a democracy, the politicians are not the only ones who determine what is realistic. If enough of us citizens demand something, it becomes practical for politicians to recognize how we feel . . . . If we are to get out of Vietnam without a nuclear disaster, we have to make the President realize how strong is our insistence. He must see that we will not be satisfied with peace feelers or peace promises. We want peace itself. . . . Who are the real lawbreakers? *The protestors—or those who have sent one-half million Americans round the world to fight in violation of the United Nations Charter, without a declaration of war? Those who advise our young men not to go? Or those who order them to commit atrocities against the people of Vietnam? History will make the final judgment.*

From *Dr. Spock on Vietnam* (Dell, paper, 75c) by Dr. Benjamin Spock and Mitchell Zimmerman. A strong and wonderfully simple history of our involvement in Vietnam, and an impassioned plea for its quick end by the eminent author of the best-selling book on child care. Dr. Spock is under indictment for conspiracy in counseling young men of draft age against serving in the war in Vietnam.

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lions, like her. There is almost no end to what we can learn from Mrs. Ning. She tells of the life of the street, the neighborhood, the servant's special knowledge of Chinese officials and foreign missionaries. We feel her terrible anguish when her "opium sot" of a husband finally succeeds in selling her daughter. We understand her uneasiness when she must move out of the city of her birth.

Perhaps for the first time we are given a direct insight into what the revolution of 1911 was probably like for the majority of Chinese. Mrs. Ning describes how policemen caught men on the street and cut their queues. That is all. Of Yuan Shik-k'ai, of Sun Yat-sen, not a word. Later we discover that Mrs. Ning believes the old Empress Dowager lost the "great seal" when she fled Peking during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. Perhaps, she muses, the Japanese found it. "If the Japanese got it they will have the Mandate of Heaven and we should listen to our new masters." Her granddaughter, missionary educated and now a teacher in Peking (an old maid at 35 despite all Mrs. Ning's considerable efforts to marry her off) insists that this is not so. The Japanese must be driven out of China and she, Su Teh, herself slips out of Peking to join the guerrillas. But, Mrs. Ning complains, how can her granddaughter be right? "How can people govern a land? Always there has been a Son of Heaven who is the father and the mother of the people." Mrs. Ning dismisses with contempt her granddaughter's notion that "marriage is not necessary to working for the country." "That," she remarks, "is new talk. We all know that the family is more important than anything else."

To be sure, the new talk triumphed and the nature of the society which emerged has become, as Dr. Han rightly notes, an obsession for Americans. In 1960 the Gelders, who had worked as wartime correspondents in Chungking, returned to China to see how things were going; in 1962 they received permission to check on progress in Tibet and, in 1966, they once more traveled in China, taking the revolution's temperature. Each trip produced, not unnaturally, a book.

Until 1966 the Gelders felt fairly well at home with the revolution. They had seen China in the bad old prerevolutionary days and, as they tell us without much elaboration, it was very bad indeed. Who could quibble with a movement that replaced a diet of tree bark with one of rice, however rationed, or replaced national humiliation and despair with pride and hope? But the Chinese revolution has been unkind to its friends. It refuses to stop. Just as one is about to take one's ease in the incredible material achievements of the Communists, generously forgiving them for the peccadillo of the collapse of the Great Leap, they turn round to do something new, something unaccountable.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the latest burden Mao has laid upon those of us who wish to praise him. The Gelders struggle manfully with it, concluding, without much evidence, that it is all an effort on Mao's part to weed out those who are not absolutely behind him so that China may be firmly united in the face of increasing external pressure. While tolerant of this goal, the Gelders are appalled at what it seems to involve—the mass religious worship of Mao, the petty persecution of Christians long deprived of any power to harm the state, the harassment which has driven good men like the novelist Lau Shaw to suicide. Disgusted and bewildered, the Gelders do not hesitate to argue fiercely with those they interview and the value of their report lies in these vigorous interviews.

The Gelders spoke with Ch'en Yi, Lau Shaw, Madame Sun Yat-sen and a host of ordinary citizens, students, night soil collectors, commune farmers. They sat in on discussions with small groups of workers on selected texts from the *Quotations of Mao Tse-tung*. One of their most illuminating discussions was with a young student, herself the daughter of a professor and thus class tainted. When asked if she thinks she is destiny-bound to become an "anti-Socialist monster," the girl says No, but acknowledges her own class consciousness. "I can't help it," she explains. "If you come from an educated family you can't feel equal with a peasant or worker just by saying to yourself that equality is a good thing." That is what the cultural revolution is all about, the alteration not merely of political and economic arrangements but of the people themselves: "What we have to do is produce a new man."

Ch'en Yi similarly harps on this almost classical utopian objective of transformation. The entire cultural revolution is an effort to "close the gap between mental and manual labor," and to make absolutely certain that "there is no intellectual or privileged aristocracy which will become the governing bureaucracy of China." (Those interested in a deeper understanding of the cultural revolution would be well advised to read K. S. Karol's brilliant, *China, The Other Communism*, as well as his article in the March *Ramparts*.) However, the Gelders' report remains worth reading for its illustrative material and for the considerable pleasure of traveling once more with its forthright authors.

Problems of the Soft Societies

ASIAN DRAMA: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations. *By Gunnar Myrdal. Pantheon Books (with Twentieth Century Fund). 3 Vols. $25. Paper $8.50.*

DWIGHT H. PERKINS
Mr. Perkins is an associate professor of Modern China Studies and economics at Harvard and the author of books and articles about China.

For two decades or more, numerous scholars and foundations have urged economists, sociologists and political scientists to get together for a combined attack on the barriers to an understanding of the process of modernization and economic growth. Unmindful of these urgings, economists have gone on refining analytical tools used in selecting projects for investment, political scientists have studied the evolution of political parties, and sociologists and anthropologists have concerned themselves with family and clan organizations and structures. Gunnar Myrdal's *Asian Drama* is a major exception to this more general picture. Not only does Myrdal relate social and political institutions and attitudes to the problem of achieving economic growth; he also demonstrates a commendable sense of the historical origins of these institutions and attitudes.

The central theme of this three-volume work begins with an analysis of the difficult economic situation in which the nations of South and Southeast Asia find themselves today. Stagnant export markets and inadequate inflows of foreign aid and private foreign investment have seriously restricted development programs in the area. The lack of foreign exchange has in turn led these countries to institute a variety of discretionary controls over the economy. Because these are "soft" societies, the controls have further hindered development and fostered corruption.

In the long run, Myrdal acknowledges, industrialization will be the vehicle that carries the region into the modern world, but only in the very long run. Meanwhile, there are untapped resources already in the region which could be used to accelerate the development process. In fact, if these resources aren't so tapped, the countries of the area may never get to the modern industrialized society. The principal resource Myrdal has in mind are the people of the region. There is no surplus of labor in India or elsewhere in the sense that more and better labor

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could not achieve significant increases in output. But the labor force in the region is underutilized because of social institutions that perpetuate negative attitudes toward work, among other things. The only way to make full use of the existing work force, therefore, is to break down these social barriers. Real land reform would be a major step in that direction. More and higher quality primary education may prove even more important. Such education would not only raise the quality of rural labor but would also contribute to the breaking up of the existing hierarchical systems of political and social control that are so inimical to progress.

Given the monumental political problem of making these changes in a short period of time, it is not surprising that Myrdal is generally pessimistic about future economic prospects in the region. Although one can agree with many of the individual points made in *Asian Drama* and also with the way in which Myrdal relates them to one another, it is not clear from evidence internal to this book that the case for pessimism is fully justified. Part of the problem is that the book is much too long and its style wordy and repetitive, making it difficult to grasp the argument in its entirety.

The more serious problem has to do with relating what Myrdal has to say with the actual economic performance in South and Southeast Asia over the past decade. Thailand, Malaysia, and to a lesser degree the Philippines, have all grown rapidly over this period (5 or 6 per cent per year). So has Pakistan. Progress in Vietnam, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon has been slow or nonexistent, but it is much easier to attribute these failures to political turmoil and governments interested in almost everything except economic growth. Social factors, to be sure, have played a major role in the economic failures of these latter countries (principally communal antagonisms), but not so much the hierarchical caste structures upon which Myrdal places such great emphasis.

As Myrdal himself indicates, "to say that this book is mainly about India with numerous and systematic attempts at comparisons with other countries in South Asia would not be far from the mark." By any reasonable standard, this is a very good book about India and, for India, emphasis on the obstacles to significant progress may well be justified. To treat the rest of the area as being different from India in degree, but not in kind, is less satisfactory.

Per capita income in such countries as Thailand, the Philippines and Ceylon is half again the level of India, and Malaysia's income is three times that of India. Where Indian exports make up only about 5 per cent of its national product, in these other nations the percentage is several times that figure. The literacy rate in most of Southeast Asia is double or more that of India. There is nothing comparable to the Indian caste system elsewhere in the region, and land tenancy is a rather different phenomenon in countries with large areas of virgin land, as is the case in much of Southeast Asia.

It is not that these Southeast Asian countries lack problems. In fact their problems are of a kind that should be analyzed in a general social-political-economic framework. But the Indian social-economic model is largely irrelevant to much of the rest of the region, based as it is on severe foreign exchange restrictions and a very rigid caste-based social structure. Myrdal, of course, mentions the differences that I have pointed out. But generally these differences are used to highlight how difficult the situation is in India, leaving the reader with the impression that the situation is similarly bad in Thailand or the Philippines, only less so. This approach makes about as much sense as comparing these same countries with Japan (present or past) and saying that the situation in Southeast Asia is similar to, but not quite as favorable for development, as that in Japan. The two approaches together would still leave the reader wondering where in a range between a 3 and 10 per cent rate of growth in national product these countries are likely to fall and why.

The most interesting sections of the book are those where Myrdal traces the origins and nature of attitudes toward socialism and planning in the region, and how these attitudes and the institutions they have fostered have become related to the traditional social and political structure. This relationship in turn has often led to aims in conflict with the goal of modernization. The point that industrialization will not solve the employment problem for many decades to come is also well taken. Perhaps most refreshing is Myrdal's critical use of statistics, an unfortunately rare event among analyses of this region.

Asian Drama marks an important step forward in our knowledge of the modernization process in India, and there is much that can be learned from it about Southeast Asia as well. Most significantly, these three volumes contain one of the first successful attempts to combine the tools of several of the social sciences (together with history) in an attack on the central issue of modernization.

Community of Death and Guilt

DEATH IN LIFE: Survivors of Hiroshima. *By Robert Jay Lifton. Random House. 594 pp. $10.*

KENNETH LAMOTT
Mr. Lamott is a novelist who was born in Japan and served on the secretariat of the Far Eastern Commission.

Hibakusha is a new word in an ancient language, a word coined to describe the survivors of the bombing of Hiroshima. About 160,000 of the persons who were exposed to the atomic bomb survive. Of these *hibakusha* (the word literally means "explosion-affected person") some 90,000 still live in Hiroshima city, another 35,000 in Hiroshima prefecture, while 30,000 others have migrated elsewhere in Japan. (Also included in the official category of *hibakusha* are those who entered an area 2,000 meters from the hypocenter within fourteen days of the explosion, those who came in close contact with victims—as in disposing of their bodies—and infants *in utero* whose mothers were *hibakusha*.) There is, however, a certain amount of slippage in the statistics; like light-skinned Negroes escaping from the Deep South, some of the victims who are unmarked by keloids or other physical stigmata quietly pass over the line into the general population.

Robert Jay Lifton's absorbing study of the psychological condition of the *hibakusha* provided an answer to a question that had puzzled me ever since, soon after the end of the war, I had visited the remains of Hiroshima and also had several occasions to drive through the southeastern wards of Tokyo, where 100,000 had been killed by the fire storms of the night of March 9-10, 1945. As Masuo Kato observed in his book *The Lost War*, that night's work by our B-29s constituted the greatest single disaster in the history of the human race up to that time. Perhaps motivated by local chauvinism—I was born and reared in Tokyo—I have been inclined to argue that, for either the victims or the survivors, there was little to choose between fire storms such as destroyed Tokyo (and Dresden) and an atomic holocaust. Dr. Lifton's thesis does not refute my argument entirely (the survivors of the Nagasaki atom bombing have reacted quite similarly to the victims of conventional bombing); the point, however, is that the destruction of Hiroshima *was* an experience entirely different in quality from anything the world had known to that time.

As Dr. Lifton, who is a research pro-

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fessor in psychiatry at Yale, writes: "A striking feature of the Hiroshima environment is the *communal reinforcement of guilt*—the creation of a 'guilty community' in which self-condemnation is 'in the air.'" As was the case with the population of the German death camps, the *hibakusha* have been marked by the imprint of death, and like the *Musselmänner,* anonymous, faceless and supremely apathetic, life has become to many of them a counterfeit and death the only reality.

Dr. Lifton traces this psychological mechanism in the following terms: *I almost died; I should have died; I did die; or at least I am not really alive; or if I am alive, it is impure of me to be so; anything I do which affirms life is also impure and an insult to the dead, who alone are pure; and by living as if dead, I take the place of the dead and give them life.*

This in essence is the theme that emerged from interviews with seventy-five *hibakusha.* As a corollary to this proposition, Dr. Lifton observed that the death-tainted have become suspect to the non-*hibakusha* majority, a threat and an enemy and at last an inferior breed like the *burakumin* or *Eta,* who for centuries have comprised the untouchable caste of Japanese society. "The keloid," as Dr. Lifton puts it, "then comes closer to the pre-Christian meaning of the stigma as a mark or brand for slaves and criminals. . . ."

There has been then, on the one hand, the creation of a guilt-ridden community of the death-tainted, and on the other, the reinforcement of the guilt by the non-tainted Japanese who will even argue that job discrimination against *hibakusha* is not unreasonable, just as "good Germans" have argued that discrimination against Jews was not entirely unreasonable, and "good Americans" still argue that discrimination against Negroes is not unreasonable. (Americans have even played the ***hibakusha* game**; several years ago *Time* magazine drew an invidious comparison between Hiroshima—"the only city in the world that advertises its past misery"—and Nagasaki—"a monument to forgiveness.")

Yet Hiroshima is not all guilt and self-pity. Among the individuals who emerged as leaders of the *hibakusha* are some extraordinary human beings: a city official responsible for heroic feats of reorganization; a physicist at the university who, like his American colleagues, "knew sin" even though he was on the receiving end of the bomb; a Buddhist priest who was praying when the bomb exploded and has felt himself possessed of a special mission, a call to life; and, most striking of all, a souvenir vendor who calls himself A-Bomb Victim Number One but who, possessing "largesse and human skills," has performed prodigies of good works on behalf of the *hibakusha.*

In the end, though, the dominant impression left by *Death in Life* is of massive damage to both the communal and the individual psyche, damage which manifests itself in queer and unexpected ways. There was, for example, strong resentment among the *hibakusha* over the inscription on the Hiroshima cenotaph, which reads

Rest in peace.
The mistake shall not be repeated.

It seems clear enough, simple, straightforward, and appropriate to the occasion it commemorates. Nevertheless, it was attacked by *hibakusha* who felt that they themselves were being blamed. The trouble, as Dr. Lifton analyzes it, "is that it made public and permanent the *hibakusha*'s own unconscious self-accusation, his conviction that his 'mistake' in remaining alive was the cause of atomic bomb deaths." In a somewhat similar vein, the so-called "Hiroshima maidens" were criticized for having ventured beyond the seemly quietude more appropriate to victims.

The phenomenon of the guilty victim is of course not unique to Hiroshima and the atom bomb experience. Examples can be found in "normal" cities both on psychiatrists' couches and in police stations; in particular, examples can be found in our city ghettos. The portrait of Hiroshima that emerges from *Death in Life,* however, is of an entire community in which the mass consciousness of guilt and self-pity combined has been raised to a Dostoevskian level.

Dr. Lifton concludes: "In every age man faces a pervasive theme which defies his engagement and yet must be engaged. In Freud's day it was sexuality and moralism. Now it is unlimited technological violence and absurd death. We do well to name the threat and to analyze its components. But our need is to go further, to create new psychic and social forms to enable us to reclaim not only our technologies, but our very imaginations, in the service of the continuity of life."

Burchett's North Korea

AGAIN KOREA. *By Wilfred Burchett. International Publishers. 188 pp. $5.95.*

KEY P. YANG

Mr. Yang is a specialist on Korea at the Library of Congress. He is the author of many works on Korean history and North Korean affairs.

Wilfred Burchett is an unusual traveler who might be called a searcher for the soul of wars. He spent more than two and a half years from June, 1951 to February, 1954 at Kaesong-Panmunjom, where truce negotiations to terminate the Korean War took place. From there he went directly to Vietnam, arriving at the beginning of the historic battle of Dienbienphu. From Vietnam he revisited North Korea last spring, to attend the 1967 May Day celebration. *Again Korea* is the author's account of his impressions of his second visit.

Burchett, an Australian, who was a correspondent in Korea for *Ce Soir* during the Korean armistice talks, arranges his views under three categories: *(1)* His reminiscences of the war in Korea and the Panmunjom truce negotiations. *(2)* Comparison of South Korea and South Vietnam with North Korea and North Vietnam. *(3)* North Korea's independent posture in domestic and international fields, and economic reconstruction under the leadership of Kim Il-song, Premier of North Korea.

The question, who first invaded whom, is one of the determining factors distinguishing international warfare from internal conflict. Burchett, a recipient of the Medal of the Order of the Presidium of North Korea, concludes that Syngman Rhee's troops launched the attack first across the 38th Parallel. He cites as proof the North Korean allegation that it was from Kaesong (then in South Korea) that the main attack was first launched, and that President Truman had already ordered U. S. air and sea forces to give the South Korean Government troops cover and support several hours before the UN Security Council had actually met.

Burchett's arguments contrast with I. F. Stone's assertion that North Korea might very well have first attacked South Korea, although Stone maintained as fact that Rhee was agitating for war, and international intrigues to command hostilities were plotted by the U.S. prior to the actual armed conflict. Stone, an American journalist, and one of the outspoken critics of American policy in the Korean War, has written perhaps the most controversial work on the cause of the war in his 1952 book, *The Hidden History of the Korean War* (Monthly Review Press).

Burchett's description of his personal experience during the truce negotiations at Panmunjom might be considered as

(Continued on page 608)

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Ho Chi Minh: From 'Prison Diary'

In 1942, at age 52, Ho Chi Minh, now Chief of State of North Vietnam, was arrested in South China, accused of being a spy. For fourteen months, bound in leg irons, he was shifted from jail to jail. Throughout he kept a diary written in poetry. Following is a selection from *Prison Diary*, translated from the Chinese by Aileen Palmer and available in paperback from China Books and Periodicals.

HARD IS THE ROAD OF LIFE

Having climbed over steep mountains and high peaks,
How should I expect on the plains to meet greater danger?
In the mountains, I met the tiger and came out unscathed:
On the plains, I encountered men, and was thrown into prison.

THE FLUTE OF THE FELLOW-PRISONER

Suddenly a flute sounds a nostalgic note:
Sadly the music rises, its tune is close to sobbing:
Over a thousand miles, across mountains and rivers,
Journey's an aching grief. We seem to see a woman
Climbing a far off tower to watch for someone's return.

MOONLIGHT

For prisoners, there is no alcohol nor flowers,
But the night is so lovely, how can we celebrate it?
I go to the air-hole and stare up at the moon,
And through the air-hole the moon smiles at the poet.

ON THE ROAD

Although they have tightly bound my arms and legs,
All over the mountain I hear the songs of birds,
And the forest is filled with the perfume of spring-flowers.
Who can prevent me from freely enjoying these,
Which take from the long journey a little of its loneliness?

ON THE WAY TO NANNING

The supple rope has now been replaced with iron fetters.
At every step they jingle as though I wore jade rings.
In spite of being a prisoner, accused of being a spy,
I move with all the dignity of an ancient government official!

RESTRICTIONS

To live without freedom is a truly wretched state.
Even the calls of nature are governed by restrictions!
When the door is opened, the belly is not ready to ease itself.
When the call of nature is pressing, the door remains shut.

SLEEPLESS NIGHTS

Through the endless nights, when sleep refuses to come,
I write more than a hundred poems on prison life.
At the end of each quatrain, I put down my brush,
And through the prison bars look up at the free sky.

ON READING 'ANTHOLOGY OF A THOUSAND POETS'

The ancients used to like to sing about natural beauty:
Snow and flowers, moon and wind, mists, mountains and rivers.
Today we should make poems including iron and steel,
And the poet also should know to lead an attack.

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AUTUMN NIGHT

In front of the gate, the guard stands with his rifle.
Above, untidy clouds are carrying away the moon.
The bed-bugs are swarming round like army-tanks on manoeuvres,
While the mosquitoes form squadrons, attacking like fighter-planes.
My heart travels a thousand li towards my native land.
My dream intertwines with sadness like a skein of a thousand threads.
Innocent, I have now endured a whole year in prison.
Using my tears for ink, I turn my thoughts into verses.

AFTER PRISON A WALK IN THE MOUNTAINS

The clouds embrace the peaks, the peaks embrace the clouds,
The river below shines like a mirror, spotless and clean.
On the crest of the Western Mountains, my heart stirs as I wander
Looking towards the Southern sky and dreaming of old friends.

Two Poems of Pakistan by Aijaz Ahmad

I Read A Report On How To Preserve Elements Of Local Culture While Reforming Modern Education In Pakistan, Prepared By A Team Of Experts, Sponsored By The Ford Foundation, And Submitted Simultaneously To The American Agency For International Development And The Commission On Education Appointed By The President Of Pakistan. Thereafter, I Reflect Upon What I Have Read, And Write The Following Poem.

Asia! Your Asia! It is
A sham museum masterpiece
Slung around my neck. A
Counterfeit three-penny opera.
A mock-heroic pygmalion.
I encounter it and blush.

From Kipling to Santha
Rama Rau, you have sent
Numerous observers to scratch
The soul and surface of Asia.
And now these experts who
Dont even know how to despise.

Your Asia is a glazed,
Unreflecting mirror
And I fail once more
To see, in it my face.

NEW YEAR'S EVE, 1965

"The city is yellow with rancor."
St. John Perse

The streets of Lahore, charged like electric wires with popular songs hung in the mist, are damp and dreary like the night of my insomnia. The dying year wraps itself around the wind like so many sailors knotted in the belly of a high mast. Morning will bring tidings of new arrivals, as the fresh news of yet another ship embarking in the port. Meanwhile, all the voices of my city are voices of silence, waiting, muted in a fatigued terror.

City! O city! Let peace be on your streets. I have given the best years of my life to you and your women. There lingers now, in the odors of my flesh, the smell of past loves and a taste of dying. This year, even as it passes and is about to merge with the remembrance of those who have left a scent on my life, clings to me as flesh to the bone, and does not let go. Let this year be as a flower with no tendrils, and make of my body the test and testament of my nearness, my love and loss.

Let this night not go unavailed, nor this year unmourned. Memory is often imprecise, like the lost smell of roses half-forgotten or remembered only in relation to other things, or as the strong autumn wind reeling across thin reeds; never hard and realisable like the yellow foliage in the hedge, or as the sproutless acacia beyond. So, let the writing be of words

and, after that, our exile

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a most useful and timely revelation of what can be expected—offering perhaps even an actual rehearsal scenario—in the about to begin talks between the United States and North Vietnam. There are certainly differences in depth and width between the two situations, but there are at the same time many similarities. Vietnam and Korea have traversed much the same historical and political paths, and Burchett emphasizes that the two countries have learned immensely from each other in fighting a United States caught in a disadvantageous position. It is conceivable that North Vietnam will utilize every North Korean experience and tactic in the truce negotiations with the United States which are described in this book.

Burchett discloses the reason behind North Korean activities in war preparedness during the past few years, saying that "if [North] Vietnam fell, the [North] Koreans believe that the full force of U. S. power and that of her Asian partners would be turned against them." This same theme of fear of war on the part of North Korea is touched upon by Burchett in an article called "Revisiting Korea" which appeared in the North Korean monthly publication *Korea Today*, where he states that "the whole country has been transformed into a fortress and armed forces are in a high state of preparedness."

One wonders, now that this source of danger has been somewhat lessened by President Johnson's recent announcement of efforts to de-escalate the war in Vietnam, whether North Korea might take a different view of the United States. Although it is still too early to judge, past indications do not warrant hope for any changes so long as U.S. forces remain in South Korea. There is also evidence that North Korea will probably not relax its war tension policy because of its emphasis on the need for reunifying Korea "within the life of the present generation" *(Korea Today)*.

The author's analysis of the past, present and future courses of North Korean policy is based on Kim Il-song's thesis called *Juche* (*Chuch'e*) which combines nationalism, self-identity, self-reliance and self-defense. The development of *Juche* represents North Korea's apparent determination to establish its own national identity, despite pressures to conform to the Communist bloc political image. *Juche* was formally promulgated in 1955 by Kim Il-song; since then it has become the motivating force behind the development of the North Korean economy and cultural life, as well as in the conduct of its foreign affairs. Perhaps most important of all, it has been used to instill energy and pride in the North Korean people. A clear understanding of this approach, in theory and in actual practice, is vital in envisaging the future of Korea. The author has devoted an entire chapter to this subject, and he asserts that *Juche* is a doctrine "which eminently fits the Korean psychology," although "it is difficult for some socialist states to understand and endorse." This concept of *Juche* is found in both South Korea and South Vietnam and creates a feeling of affinity with their fellow countrymen in the North. *Juche*, with its inherent anti-foreign overtones, could result eventually in a shift in the balance of political direction in East Asia.

Finally. Burchett depicts North Korea as a land of milk and honey; concluding that "no country in history has moved so far so fast in all fields of developments." However, information available from other sources reveals that North Korea is certainly not a utopia or a dreamland for workers. It is still struggling against odds to meet basic needs, including a regular bowl of rice.

What the author illustrates as economic achievements are not new. It is known that North Korea can produce electric locomotives, that it even exports lathes and tractors, and that in per capita income North Korea reportedly occupies the sixth place in East Asian countries. What the author fails to indicate is how the people actually live and how they express themselves. He seems content to state only that "people work with great intensity."

Burchett makes clear that certain attitudes can be anticipated: *(1)* Economic forms will be changed to meet the second edition of war expected by North Korea by transforming the whole country into an "impregnable fortress." *(2)* The present cooperative farm system made up of individually owned lands will eventually be replaced by the state farm, a cooperatively cultivated farm owned by the state. *(3)* Finally, total Proletarianization of the entire working populace is the ultimate goal.

There is a Korean proverb to the effect that no trial is complete unless the opposite side is presented. Whatever his motivation and within the limitations of his highly subjective view, Burchett has provided us with information that could help lead eventually to more objective dealing with North Korea and North Vietnam. Regretfully, the author's anti-American overtones and obviously one-sided sympathy for North Korea, coupled with the absence of on-the-scene knowledge of the South, may lead to an adverse reaction to this book. But it depicts the other side as it appeared to one reporter, and I would recommend it not only to students of East Asian affairs but to all hawks and doves who are searching for clues for the solution of problems in contemporary East Asian politics.

Giap, Chou and the Willies

BIG VICTORY, GREAT TASK. *By General Vo Nguyen Giap. Frederick A. Praeger. 120 pp. $4.50.*

CHOU EN-LAI: China's Gray Eminence. *By Hsu Kai-yü. Doubleday & Co. 294 pp. $5.95.*

JONATHAN MIRSKY
Mr. Mirsky teaches at Dartmouth College and New York University.

Chou En-lai and Vo Nguyen Giap attract a good deal of respect in the West, although for different reasons. Chou, the Premier of the People's Republic of China, has had a remarkable career. Born into a well-to-do family, he received a good Middle School education, studied in Japan (or, actually, went to Japan *to* study, spending his time thinking about post-1911 China), and lived in Paris after the First World War, where he came under radical influence. Committed to communism, Chou returned to China. There, during the Communist-KMT coalition of the mid-twenties, he served for a period at Chiang Kai-shek's military academy (where Ho Chi Minh could also be found). Later, after the bloody break with the KMT in 1927, he participated in the inter-party disputes about urban or peasant revolution (his views are indistinct), survived the Long March, the Second World War and, now, the Cultural Revolution. Somehow, even in the very jaws of his enemies, Chou En-lai's person and integrity remain intact.

Among those who know him, Chou stirs affectionate responses, especially in women, who regard him as handsome, urbane and sophisticated. This is a response which women reserve for few political leaders. Chou En-lai would probably be a success striding down Fifth Avenue, if not on St. Patrick's Day, certainly marching in a Mobilization.

General Giap, on the other hand, is almost unknown as a personality. He seems slight and unsparkling in his photographs, and very few visitors to Hanoi get to see him. But as the victor of Dienbienphu, and North Vietnam's Minister of Defense, he commands everyone's respect and probably gave General Westmoreland the willies.

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Several years ago Hsu Kai-yü, a professor at San Francisco State, compiled a volume of his translations of modern Chinese poetry. In it he showed a lively literary style of his own. It is accordingly sad to read this tepid biography of Chou En-lai whom Professor Hsu plainly holds in considerable regard. (Also, it is shocking that he should have allowed the expression, "The God of revolution and the demon of bloodshed," to be used as a final chapter heading and in the blurb; since it does not fit Professor Hsu's own description and stems from one notoriously erratic individual, it seems to be an epithet to avoid.)

Commendably, the author's intent is to make Chou come alive. To this end he employs several dozen (mostly anonymous) informants who claim to have been intimate with Chou En-lai at various times. Unfortunately, the result is an overstraining of the reader's credulity. Not only are there *verbatim* conversations of forty years ago but descriptions of minute actions as well, such as "'. . . we'll talk about it again tomorrow,' Chou En-lai said, glancing at his watch" (1924), or " . . . the slight flush on Chou's face . . . " (1928). The book is shot through with this kind of thing, so that while welcoming the information which Professor Hsu has so painstakingly compiled from his sources (many documentary as well) we resist what we tend to believe already: that Chou En-lai is a human being. Biography is a marvelous art, but we must *believe* in it. Even *auto*biography which falters toward total recall disengages the reader.

Professor Hsu, in his eagerness to show Chou's central importance, virtually removes everyone else from the stage:

"The only person who has remained in the forefront of the Chinese Communist movement, from the beginning, until today, is Chou En-lai."

"Chou built the Party elite . . . long before Mao emerged. . . . "

"All the key systems that the Communist Party set up from . . . the 1920's to . . . today, Chou organized."

". . . He built the Red Army elite."

"As chief architect of Peking's foreign policy . . . "

"Chou is the only one in the CCP top echelon who can understand and lead China's youth and intelligentsia."

What makes us smile is that if the name Mao Tse-tung were substituted we would say the cult of personality was working overtime. It is easy to make Professor Hsu's case if you mention Mao only fifty times (in almost 300 pages), and deal with the founding of the CCP as a French phenomenon, skimp Mao's development as theoretician, and end the volume with a fanciful "day in the life of Chou En-lai." The evidence for the almost solitary importance of Chou is not sufficient to support such a thesis, although Professor Hsu is quite right in stressing Chou's supreme ability to survive. But Mao hasn't done too badly himself and he *has* been running the show for more than thirty years.

From a literary standpoint Giap's *Big Victory, Great Task* rates low marks. David Schoenbrun's excellent introduction is correct in describing its tone as polemical Chinese style. This is disturbing because North Vietnamese officials don't actually *speak* in this weird manner ("pirates," "running dogs," "lackey," "puppets," "heroic people's army") as I have found on a number of occasions—as opposed to the Chinese who distressingly do.

Never mind. We want to know what Giap thinks, and the message comes through the static. The book, which is overpriced at $4.50 for 120 pages of large print, is a series of statements by Giap on the course of the war serialized in Hanoi during September, 1967.

Giap's central point—for Americans, anyway—is that the war is being fought in the South, by southerners, under southern leadership. I counted the words "southern people" and "southern battlefields" eighteen times in 4 pages alone. What does it matter; doesn't he do this to delude us into thinking Hanoi isn't in charge? I think not. These messages are designed to be read all over Vietnam. They must give the NLF cadres a tremendous awareness of their importance.

Of almost equal weight is Giap's stress on the basic inability of the Americans to win, despite their planes, equipment and large forces. He starts with an uncompromising moral line: "The United States imperialists are in a difficult stalemate not because they lack troops, but because their war of aggression is unjust." But he is far too practical to leave it at that. Giap knows there are quarrels in Washington about the escalation, and he knows at the root of the quarrels lies the fear of a long war, a fear of "upsetting political, economic, and social life in the United States." Because of this "the ratio of United States expeditionary troops actually engaged in combat will continue to be low. This is a bitter fact, a weakness, and a major difficulty for the United States imperialist aggressors."

But the Americans continue because they have faith in their technological supremacy. "They believe that the adversary's backbone is its armed forces and that if they can defeat these they can end the war." Naturally, Giap thinks the will to win, the ideology and the éclat of the Vietnamese are the critical factors, and that coupled with support from "the socialist camp" and the "isolation" of the United States, the American defeat is inevitable. *Unlike* American leaders he is careful to offer no timetable, and says repeatedly that things are going to get worse before they get better.

Accordingly, he anticipates more American troops and foresees the possibility that Washington may "send infantry troops to the North." Up to this page, 18 from the end, General Giap underscores the importance of the Vietnamese going it alone. But an invasion would change things. An invasion "would be attacking the mainland of a member country of the socialist camp. In this enlarged war the United States imperialists would meet with incalculably serious consequences." General Giap must be talking about China, which en-

*"Monumental... Brilliant..."**

WHITE OVER BLACK

American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812

Winthrop D. Jordan

"In seeking out the origins, meaning and explanation of Negro debasement in America, Mr. Jordan has tackled one of the most abstruse, subtle, tangled, controversial and certainly one of the most important problems in American history. It has tripped many scholars . . . The author has put simple solutions and flashy theories aside and brought to his task a patience, skepticism, thoroughness and humility commensurate with the vast undertaking. He combines these qualities with imagination and insight. The result is a massive and learned work that stands as the most informed and impressive pronouncement on the subject yet made."

—C. VANN WOODWARD,
New York Times Book Review

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tered the Korean War under the same circumstances after first warning Washington in what now seem to have been unmistakable terms. In Laos, a North Vietnamese diplomat told me in December that he "supposed" the Chinese would enter Vietnam in the event of an invasion, and the Chinese told me in Nepal that they would regard an invasion of the North as intolerable.

Vo Nguyen Giap sees the present struggle as "an important contribution to the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism waged by progressive people throughout the world." The Hanoi diplomat in Laos disabused me at once of any illusions on their part about the American peace movement, remarking that "It is very good *for America* that you struggle against your government," although he added, sincerely I think, that the Vietnamese appreciated such efforts. Giap, however, is right. What do you suppose life would be like in America if the NLF and Hanoi surrendered tomorrow?

Haiku and Religion

BACK ROADS TO FAR TOWNS. Oku-No-Hosomichi. *By Matsuo Basho. Translated by Cid Corman and Kamaike Susumu. Grossman Publishers. 175 pp. Illustrated. $8.50.*

THE NARROW ROAD TO THE DEEP NORTH AND OTHER TRAVEL SKETCHES. *By Matsuo Basho. Translated by Nobuyuki Yuasa. Penguin Books. 167 pp. Illustrated. $1.75 paper.*

FOLK RELIGION IN JAPAN: Continuity and Change. *By Ichiro Hori. Edited by Joseph M. Kitagawa and Alan L. Miller. University of Chicago Press. 278 pp. $7.*

KENNETH REXROTH
Mr. Rexroth, a frequent Nation *contributor, is the author most recently of* The Heart's Garden/The Garden's Heart *(Pym-Randall Press).*

It would be most difficult to conjure up a better example of the ambiguity of Japanese, and in fact all Far Eastern, verse when read in a Western cultural context and syntactic structure, than the comparison of these two translations of the same work. Basho's travel journals are rather telegraphic jottings of prose, each short section culminating in one or more *haiku*. A number of these are standard classics, *haiku* known to every Japanese school child, which have been translated by any number of Westerners. Any teacher who wished to make up a little collection of them and then use these two books as basic texts would have a wonderful source book in the problems of translation, or in the nature of poetic utterance. In addition, considering the sensibility, or lack of it, of most translators of *haiku*, Western or Japanese, you'd have a perfect study of progressive vulgarization—a built-in scale of aesthetic values.

This is the first problem. Like *ukiyoye* prints, with the possible exception of Kiyonaga and Sharaku, the seventeen-syllable *haiku* is a decadent form as such. The great age of Japanese poetry, in fact of art and literature generally, ended with the Ashikaga period in the 15th century. From 1500 of the Christian era the entire country was convulsed with continuous warfare. From 1615 to the opening of Japan to the West the *de facto* cultural and administrative capital was Yedo, modern Tokyo, and the arts become progressively more decorative, sentimental and insentient, under the influence of the taste of the growing middle class. The *haiku* of Basho, the prints of Hiroshige and Hokusai, are very definitely bourgeois art, which doubtless accounts for their great popularity with Midwest housewives. Similarly, in recent years, most Japanese have come to regard Zen Buddhism, the sect that most influenced the major *haiku* poets, as "Buddhism for Westerners." Certainly a tradition which can admit to its canon of "greatest poems," a monstrosity of sentimentality like "Led to the flower viewing by his nurse, the little blind boy," runs the danger of being totally assimilated to the flower arrangement and tea ceremony classes on which female American exurbanites waste their husbands' money.

This is the great problem. When Basho writes them the depth, precision and lack of sentimentality redeem the *haiku* from decadence and elevate his best to major works of art. But can the form and sensibility of a genuinely significant poet like Basho be made aesthetically worthy of respect in English translation? This has in fact practically never occurred. Almost all translations of *haiku* are pernicious corrupters of taste, as can be studied at leisure in the resulting horrors, the native American "haiku." Basho presents still another problem. In addition to a sensibility that can be so easily transformed into gross sentimentality, he is peculiarly cryptic. Many of his *haiku* are as puzzling to Japanese as they are to Western scholars and resemble Zen *mondos*; but lurking behind their mystery is not the ultimate empirical religious experience of Zenism but Basho's own very odd and very refined personality. The translator of Basho sets himself the task of solving a whole set of telescoping conundrums, like Chinese boxes, in intercultural transmission.

Nobuyuki Yuasa and Cid Corman take two radically different roads to attempt to follow Basho's travel diary in English. Neither succeeds, but then, neither fails as much as most translators. Nobuyuki Yuasa, like almost all Japanese translators, expands and explains in translating. This is usually disastrous. In his case it is done with dignity and taste and by and large is illuminating, not degrading.

Corman adopts an extraordinary language, bearing some resemblance to his own poetry and those poets associated with his magazine *Origins*. It does not mimic Japanese syntax but it does try to mimic Basho's own psychological syntax and the tone of a decoratively scrawled notebook. Corman's *haiku* are something else—Zen *mondos* with a vengeance. Many of them have half the syllables of the Japanese originals and resemble nothing so much as lines taken at random from a radically dissociated Robert Creeley. This is not always successful, but sometimes it is, and it is certainly one way to avoid lapsing into sentimentality. Or does it substitute a new, hip sentimentality? My principal objection is the excessive use of Japanese words and expletives. If you're going to translate, translate, don't duck. Corman gives the Japanese text in Chinese-Japanese characters on facing pages. Nobuyuki Yuasa gives just English. I would suggest that any future edition of Corman give the romaji—transliteration into the Western alphabet. The prosody of *haiku* is totally unknown to almost all *haiku* devotees in the West and bears exhaustive study, especially by those amateurs who think all you have to do is string together an imagist whimsy in seventeen syllables.

A book which is, perhaps, more important and interesting than the Basho translations is Ichiro Hori's *Folk Religion in Japan*. Ludwig Wittgenstein always spoke of *doing* philosophy—"what do we actually do when we do philosophy?" Altogether too few people ask this question of religion, least of all of the major religions of the civilized nations. Questions like this are left to the anthropologists and ethnologists. Descriptions of what actually goes on are abundant for every primitive people. Islam, Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism are almost always described in terms of what their theologians say about them. This is a kind of hallucination of documents and may have little indeed to do with what happens in a Polish village synagogue, a church lost in the Abruzzi mountains,

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or the temple of Marichi, patroness of prostitutes in Kyoto's Gion District.

Nowhere is it more important to understand what people do when they do their religion than in Japan. The person who thinks he can use D. T. Suzuki or Alan Watts as Baedekers to the actual practice of Japanese Buddhism is due for quite a shock when he visits Japan. The theories have as little to do with what happens as the works of St. Thomas Aquinas have to do with the folk religion of the peasants in Aquino.

In recent years there has grown up an immense literature of folk religion in Japanese, but Ichiro Hori's book is the most comprehensive work to get into English in a very long time, and it is certainly the most comprehending. Much of the writing on this subject in English has been tendentious and misleading, notably Ruth Benedict's *Sword and Chrysanthemum,* written during the Second World War, but still used by American students. Actually the best books were written during the fashion for things Japanese—of which the again fashionable art nouveau was a reflection—around the beginning of the century, Percival Lowell's *Occult Japan,* or the eccentric and sentimental writings of Lafcadio Hearn. They may verge on travel brochures, but they are about actual practice amongst people who never heard of the *Lankavatara Sutra.*

In no modern nation is folk religion more important than it is in Japan. This is the whole secret of Japanese culture. The Japanese themselves like to talk about what enthusiastic Westernizers they are and Japanese scholars write books about Chinese, Indian, Central Asian and even Bactrian Greek influences. In fact everything that comes from outside is digested and absorbed and turned into something completely Japanese, whether it is an electric sign on the Ginza, or a Kabuki play with the same plot as *Medea.*

The great virtue of Ichiro Hori's book is that it traces the shaping and transforming influences of the living folk religion from prehistoric antiquity and the practices of Northeast Asian shamans and shamanesses down to the proletarian religions which have proliferated since the Japanese defeat and occupation. A modern cult which takes off from Nichiren Buddhism becomes much more comprehensible when understood as a new expression of an always abiding common religious life; but so too does the esoteric Buddhism of the period of the great Japanese literary classics, or the Zen of the post-feudal age.

Cultures die if this folk response to the crises and mysteries of life is obliterated by an invading culture. Pitt-Rivers long ago pointed out that the people of the Pacific Islands were dying of *anomie*—namelessness—because Western culture had robbed them of their responses to life. There was certainly plenty of anomie abroad in the ashes of Tokyo, Nagasaki and Hiroshima—as can be studied in the hopeless novels of Osamu Dasai—but the common people were able to regain a sense of control in religious practices that went back to prehistoric Japan.

The only fault I have to find with Ichiro Hori's book is that its descriptions are too verbal and abstract. He could have done with a bit of the travelogue,

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Probably few Americans will see a film made for the Bertrand Russell "American War Crime Trials" propaganda extravaganza in Stockholm last autumn. One would expect to dismiss it as blatant Communist propaganda, too, but it doesn't work quite like that. . . . Every inch of the [seventeen-minute] film was made by Western non-Communist newsmen working for our television, magazine or newspaper services. And the film is a heartbreaker, so appalling as to defy total mental recall by a professional reporter. It shows American and South Vietnamese soldiers torturing, beating, mutilating Viet Cong and suspected Viet Cong prisoners; others, dead, are dragged off triumphantly behind tanks and amtracs. Villages, of course, are razed and burned; babies are left dying—also burned; and there isn't a sound from the screen. . . .

Many of us in America, at least men of my generation, can still clearly recall those early terrible newsreels made in Greece and Yugoslavia and Germany itself during the Hitler era. Now, one such newsreel exists which shows American atrocities in Vietnam. Every American would be disbelieving and aghast at seeing the film for himself. Of course, no one has really known—just as surely as many Germans did not know—but I am telling you all, now, that the film exists, that the pictures were made by non-Communist newsmen, and that ignorance will be no excuse or defense when the film finally surfaces in this country . . . as it assuredly will.

From David Douglas Duncan's introduction to *I Protest!* (Signet, paper, $1). An extraordinary pictorial record of U.S. Marines under fire at Khesanh, taken within the combat zone in February of this year by a veteran combat photographer who also produced *Picasso's Picassos* and *The Kremlin,* among other works.

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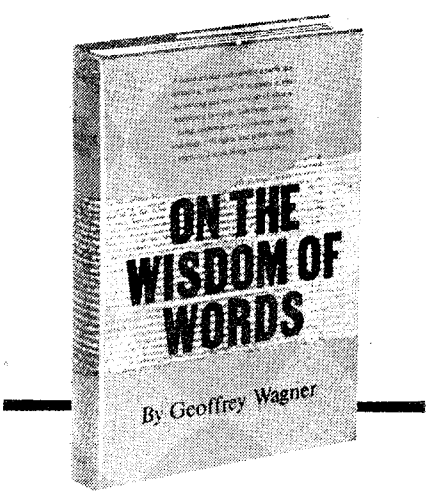

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objective description of Lowell's *Occult Japan*, and with plenty of illustrations. It is hard for a person who has never been to Japan to visualize exactly what the people are doing when they do folk religion. He tells you about it but he does not present it in sensory, objective terms. However, as an introduction to the loftiest speculations of Japanese Buddhist metaphysics, or as a guide to a walking tour of Japanese rural temples and festivals, the book is invaluable.

The Lady Wrote It Down

THE PILLOW BOOK OF SEI SHONAGON. *Translated and edited by Ivan Morris. 2 Vols. $20. Columbia University Press.*

ROY ANDREW MILLER

Mr. Miller is chairman of the Department of East and South Asian Languages and Literature at Yale. He has written and translated a number of books on Japanese culture, art and religion, of which the most recent is The Japanese Language *(University of Chicago Press).*

The *Makura no sōshi* is a classical Japanese text ascribed to a 10th-century author known as "Sei Shōnagon"; the original is part literary miscellany, part diary, and part poetaster's commonplace book, with over three hundred sections arranged in more or less random order, without respect to subject matter. In its present form (and that now translated with great distinction and sensitivity by Ivan Morris) the text is an accumulation from many different times and hands, a mountain of accretions which has built up around what was probably a fairly small late-10th-century nucleus.

There is some slight reason for attributing that nucleus to a Heian court lady, but little or nothing is really known about her, and her name has not survived. ("Sei" is an abbreviation for an aristocratic clan name; "Shōnagon" is a court title; but we know the actual names of very few of the Heian literary ladies.) What she actually wrote down, whoever she was, was probably a roughly classified listing of names of places, bridges, mountains, flowers and the like. The names were selected because they (or the things they stood for) were somehow exceptional, interesting or famous, or sometimes simply because they were difficult to write or remember. Such lists were handy for writing one's own poems or for criticizing the poems of others, virtually the only two productive activities of the Heian court.

We know from other sources that the entire year during which the text nucleus of the *Makura no sōshi* was probably first drafted saw famine and disaster throughout Japan—but such problems made no impression on the text or on its author. Men and women dropped dead from starvation in the streets only a few yards from the carefully guarded royal enclosure where a handful of Japanese aristocrats sat and exchanged poems, and drew up private lists of commonplaces.

Professor Morris has translated one of the more conflated vulgate versions of the received text, plus fragments from other text traditions, so that his "Pillow Book" is even more catholic in content than any single Japanese version published to date. But for all its tortuous textual history, the *Makura no sōshi* is an impressive monument of Japanese aristocratic taste, artistic sensibility and aesthetic prejudice; and Professor Morris' translation is equally impressive, painstaking and refreshingly literate.

His methodology and theory of translation are heavily in debt to the work of the late Arthur Waley. This is intended to be a major compliment. He shows himself more than capable of working with great credit within the demanding canons of a noble Bloomsbury tradition—as rigid as any the Heian nobility enforced against themselves, but infinitely more fruitful and rewarding.

Sir George Sansom once asked of Arthur Waley's translation of the *Genji monogatari*, "is it ungrateful to add that perhaps it does more than justice to the original—not because of any shortcomings in [the original], but because modern English is incomparably richer, stronger, more various and supple than Heian Japanese?" Sir George's perceptive query has great relevance for Morris' new translation. The "Sei Shōnagon" of Morris' translation moves in a world "incomparably richer, stronger, more various and supple" than that of Heian Japan or that of the text, and his translation endows her with such grace, wit and sophistication as to leave the poor painted Heian nobles, with their blackened teeth and absurd posturings, crawling about on the straw mats in their ill-lit, uncomfortable and absurdly cold palaces; quite out of it.

In this text, particularly in the sections closest to Heian life in time and feeling, there are largely lifeless lists and canons of aesthetic prejudice and conduct: this is proper, that is not; this is suitable, that is not; some things are simply not done, some things by all means must be done. But in these prescriptions the author was not giving expression to her personal likes or tastes as an individual; she was only recording, on behalf of her class, the way things are (or should be). Neither her motivation nor her goal was essentially aesthetic, much less literary. She was more interested in honing a keen double-edged blade of social regimentation for her class: get it all down and on record in case you can arrange to have someone get caught with his taste down, and then you can use it against him; besides, writing it all down will help you to remember it yourself.

Morris has recast and restated these essentially sterile strictures (many of them not without their depressing similarities to Hindu caste law), refracting them in the process against the personality of a "Sei Shōnagon." Heian Japanese, with its abhorrence of the personal pronoun and its almost total innocence of voice in the verb, makes it possible for the translator to take great though completely legal liberties in the form of the personification of what are in the original impersonal statements. Arthur Waley's great contribution to Western studies of early Japanese literature was to show how exciting these possibilities of personification might be when fully exploited; and Morris now brings the technique to its ripe fruition. The "Sei Shōnagon" of his translation, who charms us by her insistence upon what "I enjoy," what "I like to see," and what "I find unattractive," is essentially a human figure, not from the Heian but from our own "richer, stronger, more various and supple world." She gives expression to an individuality, and exercises a modern, Westernized personality, in a way that the several different people who at different times wrote the original text would have found quite as incomprehensible as they would find, if they could be confronted with it across time and history, the always elegant and engaging English prose of Professor Morris' translation itself.

The translation appears in a Columbia University series. Most of the titles exclude all scholarly annotation or other evidence of the process by which the translator arrived at his version; this is apparently along the same lines of reasoning by which the Victorians thought most highly of children and family life but could not endure any overt reference to the physical processes by which they had to be brought into the world. Professor Morris has most wisely chosen not to go along with Columbia University Press's hangup in this connection, and gives us a second volume of notes and miscellaneous apparatus, in addition to and of even greater length than the translation itself, and of at least equal interest and value.

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Book Marks

NORMAN J. GALLO

Mr. Gallo has lived in the Far East for three years. He is currently writing a novel about the Far East.

CADRES, BUREAUCRACY, AND POLITICAL POWER IN COMMUNIST CHINA. *By A. Doak Barnett. Columbia University Press. 563 pp. $12.*

Based on intensive interviews of Chinese who have defected from the mainland, this is a detailed analysis of the organization and operation of Communist China's governmental structure. The study ranges from the central government in Peking to the local governments of the communes and brigades and indicates that despite recent turmoil, the regime has achieved centralization of power in an unprecedented manner.

CHINA AND THE WEST. *By Wolfgang Franke. Translated by R. A. Wilson. University of South Carolina Press. 165 pp. $5.95.*

An illuminating account of the Chinese-Western relationship by a German scholar who lived in China from 1937 to 1950. Franke feels that out of the bloodshed and misunderstanding characterizing the relationship from the early 16th century, a synthesis must be established between the two civilizations as the only way in which peace can even become conceivable in the world.

CRISIS NOW. *By James M. Gavin. In collaboration with Arthur T. Hadley. Random House. 184 pp. $4.95.*

A distinguished military leader and business executive outlines the twin crises facing the American people today: Vietnam and the dangerous situation in the urban areas. He views U.S. involvement in the two World Wars as having taken on the appearance of a morality play; but its entrapment in Vietnam speaks more of a tragedy from which it cannot extricate itself without "some cost, some pain." He states that the initiative for dealing with the urban revolution rests with the President and recommends that the equivalent of a domestic National Security Council be created for the task.

U.S. POLICY AND THE SECURITY OF ASIA. *By Fred Greene. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 429 pp. $9.95.*

A comprehensive review of U.S. policy in its relationship with a vast, heterogeneous and complex continent, arguing that the U.S. presence must remain strong in Asia. To fulfil this mission, the author believes that presence must be a military one; however, the military approach must be a foundation for a political settlement with China at some future date.

THE RED GUARD. *By Hans Granqvist. Translated by Erik J. Friis. Frederick Praeger. 159 pp. $5.95.*

A Swedish correspondent's view that Mao's final goal in the Cultural Revolution is the creation of a completely egalitarian society in which no group can place itself higher than the masses.

VIETNAM FOLLY. *By Senator Ernest Gruening and Herbert W. Beaser. The National Press. 664 pp. $8.95.*

A record of how the United States became involved in the Vietnamese War by one of the two Senators who voted against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in 1964, and a most persuasive argument that the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese people cannot be won with bombs, grenades and napalm. The book quotes a statement of Thomas Reed (U.S. House Speaker in the 1890s): "The best government of which any is capable is a government they establish for themselves. With all its faults, with all its imperfections, it is much better than the best government established for them even by wiser men."

A SHORT HISTORY OF CHINESE COMMUNISM. *By Franklin W. Houn. Prentice-Hall. 245 pp. $5.95.*

The main strength of this volume is that the author, a former Chinese Nationalist official, is equally facile with both Chinese and English source material. It is a concise and well documented narrative causing one to realize that the Chinese civil war, in varying degrees, existed for over a period of two decades and, in some of its aspects, bears similarities to the Vietnamese conflict.

HOW COMMUNIST CHINA NEGOTIATES. *By Arthur Lall. Columbia University Press. 291 pp. $7.95.*

A former Indian Ambassador to the United Nations analyzes the methods and the nature of Chinese Communist diplomacy with emphasis on the 1961-62 Laos Conference. China's diplomacy is viewed in the context of its theory of international relations.

CHINA: THE OTHER COMMUNISM. *By K. S. Karol. Translated by Tom Baistow. Hill and Wang. 474 pp. $7.95.*

Karol took a four-month trip through China in 1965. In this work he compares its form of communism with that

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of the Soviet Union, revealing the distinct and profound differences between them. He concludes that Chinese communism in many respects has reached a stature equal to that of the Soviet Union and that it will play an important role in the history of our time.

THAILAND: THE WAR THAT IS, THE WAR THAT WILL BE. *By Louis E. Lomax. Random House. 175 pp. $4.95. Paper $1.95.*

U.S. policy and involvement in Thailand is indicted strongly in this work. As one female Thai Communist told Lomax: "If an American general were in charge of the Communist insurgents in Thailand, he would have us immediately start a major conflict here; his reasoning would be that this would give America a war on two fronts. . . . It would be much more to our way of thinking to plunge you into a war in Thailand on the day you sign an armistice in Vietnam . . . we cannot match American firepower, but we can drive you insane and make you spend yourselves broke."

WOMEN IN MODERN CHINA. *By Helen Foster Snow. Mouton & Co. (The Netherlands). 264 pp. $6. (Distributed by Humanities Press.)*

A fascinating and absorbing account of some Chinese women who have played and, in some cases, continue to play major roles in their country's affairs, it contains rare photographs of the Soong sisters in their youth. They are known today as Madame Sun Yat-sen, Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Madame H. H. Kung.

ENEMIES AND FRIENDS: The United Front in Chinese Communist History. *By Lyman P. Van Slyke. Stanford University Press. 330 pp. $8.50.*

An intriguing thesis that the United Front concept after 1935 became an integral part of Chinese Communist doctrine and is an inseparable aspect of its present and future policy as long as Mao Tse-tung remains its leader. Written as entertainingly as a historical novel, but without any loss of its quality as a serious and first-rate academic work.

THE EAST IS RED. *By Maslyn Williams. William Morrow and Co. 266 pp. $5.50.*

A sensitive and perceptive analysis of a visit to Communist China by an Australian journalist. Williams' strongest impression was that the Chinese Communists feel war between them and the United States is inevitable.

ANATOMY OF CHINA. *Revised edition. By Dick Wilson. Weybright and Talley. 327 pp. $8.50.*

In addition to a six-year stay in Hong Kong, Wilson visited several parts of China in 1964. It is this British journalist's view that, paradoxically, possession of the hydrogen bomb will end China's diplomatic isolation.

STORM OVER ASIA. *By Robert Karr McCabe. The New American Library. 225 pp. $5.50.*

Fast-paced, smoothly flowing impressions of Southeast Asia by a former *Newsweek* correspondent, who disagrees with present U.S. policy in Vietnam. He also gives a keen insight into the current situations of Thailand, Burma and the other nations of Southeast Asia.

ASIAN DIARY. *By Charlotte Y. Salisbury. Charles Scribner's Sons. 158 pp. $4.95.*

An informal, personal record of a trip through the Far East in 1966, refreshingly told by the American wife of Harrison Salisbury of *The New York Times.*

NEGOTIATING WITH THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS: The United States Experience, 1953-1967. *By Kenneth T. Young. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 461 pp. $10.95.*

In his faithful recording of the diplomatic contacts between the United States and Communist China over a period of fourteen years, Young finds that relations between both countries are marked by a "love-hate syndrome" and that, despite only infinitesimal progress, it is essential that contacts between them be maintained and continued. It is interesting to note that the views of Young, an American diplomat who negotiated with the Red Chinese, coincide with those of Franke, a German professor who lived thirteen years within China. Both feel that China can no longer remain isolated and that it will play an immense role in future international events.

VIETNAM TRIANGLE: Moscow/Peking/Hanoi. *By Donald S. Zagoria. Pegasus. 286 pp. $6.95. Paper $1.75.*

An awkward attempt to view the policies of the major forces involved in Vietnam. The title is misleading and confusing in that the book actually deals with a five-sided interpretation of policies followed by Moscow, Peking, Washington, Hanoi and the National Liberation Front. While it is informative, *Vietnam Triangle* gives the impression of being put together in a contrived and piecemeal fashion.

THE CHINA WHITE PAPER, August 1949. *Originally Issued by the Department of State as "United States Relations with China, With Special Reference to the Period 1944-1949." With a New Introduction by Lyman P. Van Slyke. Stanford University Press. 1079 pp. $15. Paper, 2 Vols. $5.95.*

Issued by the State Department under the direction of the then Secretary of State Dean Acheson, this work presents the case why the United States did not became involved in the Chinese Civil War. The introduction compares the situation of China in 1949 with that of Vietnam today.

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